

BATTLING BISHOPS:  
RELIGION AND POLITICS IN TRANSYLVANIA  
ON THE EVE OF THE AUSGLEICH

James P. Niessen

Submitted to the faculty of the Graduate School  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Department of History  
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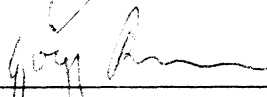
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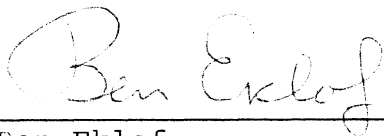
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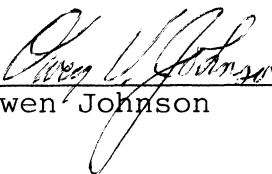
György Ránki

Doctoral  
Committee



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Ben Eklof



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Owen Johnson

December 8, 1987

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In Memory of  
Professor György Ránki  
1930–1988



## PREFACE

Keith Hitchins' Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andreiu Șaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) described the personality and achievements of a remarkable national leader who was also a bishop. The work includes a discussion of Șaguna's relations with Greek Catholic Metropolitan Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu, a no less remarkable leader who has received little attention from historians. American historiography has been even less aware of the contemporary prelates János Scitovszky, Lajos Haynald, Ioan Alexi and Iosif Papp-Szilágyi and their role in the political battles Hitchins described. This dissertation places the nations and religions of Transylvania in a context in which the relationship of religion and politics, and of bishops and clergymen of the various religions and ethnic groups, may be better understood.

The completion of this study owes a debt to scholars and institutions too numerous to list. The short list includes Professor Hitchins of the University of Illinois, whose works inspired my interest in Transylvania and set an imposing standard of scholarship, and various members of the Indiana University Department of History for their teaching. Among the latter, I must recognize a special debt to Professor György Ránki, who provided insightful but tolerant guidance, and Professor Denis Sinor, who added my name to

his long list of doctoral students and patiently supervised this dissertation to its conclusion. The International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX) made possible a research stay of nearly one year each in Hungary and Romania. I especially appreciate the astute diplomacy of those who helped to secure my access to archives in Romania: Regina Kay as IREX desk officer for Romania, and the Romanian Academy of Social and Political Sciences. It was my privilege to enjoy the sponsorship and hospitality of the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy in Budapest and the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj-Napoca. My official advisors in these places, Professors Peter Hanak and Ștefan Pascu, generously offered their time and influence. Ambrus Miskolczy and Simion Retegan were my expert and enthusiastic consultants on the nuts and bolts of research. Numerous archivists provided invaluable assistance. Down the final stretch of writing I received the assistance of a Mellon Dissertation Write-Up Fellowship from the Russian and East European Institute of Indiana University and a semester in Debrecen through the Indiana University-Lajos Kossuth University exchange. The services of the university libraries in Debrecen, at the University of Illinois in Champaign-Urbana and Indiana University, and especially extraordinary help by the Interlibrary Loan staff at the latter institution, are gratefully acknowledged. I must recognize a special debt to Simion Retegan for providing

detailed comments and Ruth Weening for stylistic editing of the final text. Peter Jörgensen of the Academic Computer Center, Colgate University, provided invaluable assistance in the preparation of the two maps. Finally, every graduate student should have a financial aid office as understanding as my parents have been. None of these people, nor the friends and colleagues in Hungary, Romania and elsewhere who also helped, are responsible for the interpretations, errors and (mis)translations I stubbornly retained through the various drafts of this work.

There is no completely satisfactory solution to the problem of the linguistic form of names to be used when writing about Transylvania in English. The consistent translation of all terms is only logical when writing in one of the indigenous languages. During the 1860s official correspondence in Transylvania was carried out in four languages (those of the three most numerous nationalities and Latin), using as many as four different names for Transylvanian localities. People of those times pragmatically translated the names of places and persons into the language they were using at the moment, and did not assume that the language one uses identifies the nationality of the subject. In view of the dominant conception of our day and as a shorthand which reflects the ethnic makeup of localities in the 1860s in most cases, I will use the following procedure. All districts and localities of the Szekler

region [Székelyföld] will bear their Hungarian names, as will all counties, royal free cities, privileged noble towns, and market towns [vármegyék, szabad királyi városok, kiváltságos nemes városok, and kiváltságos mezővárosok] of the second major administrative category, the Hungarian or noble counties. Districts and district seats [Stuhle and Vororte, székek and székhelyek] of the third region, the Fundus Regius [Saxon region, Királyföld] bear their German names. Finally, the two Romanian districts and all other localities will be identified by the Romanian names which correspond to modern usage. Geographic features bear their Romanian names. Cities in Hungary bear their Hungarian names regardless of their population. An exception to the last rule is Karlowitz/Karlócza/Sremci Karlovci, which is known in the English-language literature by its German name. Alternative forms of names are given in a table on pages xiii-xv. For personal names, I will use the form which historians of that person's nationality most commonly employ.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

L. = Latin                      G. = German  
H. = Hungarian                R. = Romanian

n.s. = New Style (modern or Gregorian calendar)  
o.s. = Old Style (old or Julian calendar, used by the  
Orthodox)  
12 days difference in the nineteenth century  
(March 15, 1848 n.s. = March 3, 1848 o.s.)

fl. = florins or Guldens = unit of currency in Austria  
Empire

HHSa = Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Austria  
Informationsburo Elenchus = a grouping of police  
documents of similar subject matter under the document  
number (= Elenchus number) of the first document in the  
group

AVA = Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Vienna, Austria

MOL = Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National  
Archives) Budapest, Hungary  
F 258 = Statthalterei in Siebenbürgen, Präsidialien  
(Presidial Papers of the Transylvanian  
Locumtenential Council)  
F 263 = Erdélyi visszaállított főkörmányszék, Elnöki  
iratok (Transylvanian Gubernium, Presidial  
Papers)  
D 228 = Erdélyi udvari kancellária, Elnöki iratok  
(Transylvanian Court Chancellery, Presidial  
Papers)  
D 229 = Erdélyi udvari kancellária, Általános iratok  
(Transylvanian Court Chancellery, General Papers)

OSzK = Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi  
Library)

Budapest, Hungary

Fol. Hung. 1722, 1723              Lajos Haynald papers  
Fol. Lat. 3952, 3954

AS Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu =  
Arhivele Statului (State Archives) in these towns,  
Romania

AS Alba Iulia. MRU,CM = Mitropolia română unită, Cabinetul mitropolitului (Papers of the Greek Catholic Metropolitan)

AS Alba Iulia. MRU,FG = Mitropolia română unită, Fondul General (General papers of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate)

Alba Iulia. ERC = Episcopia romano-catolică  
(Roman Catholic Bishopric)  
(Cat.) = categoria in ERC; each year's documents are filed in 38 subject categories

Sibiu. ABAOR, FS = Arhiva Bibliotecii Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe Române, Fondul Șaguna (Șaguna Papers in the Library of the Romanian Orthodox Archdiocese (Metropolitanate))

Sibiu. AMOR = Arhiva Mitropoliei Ortodoxe Române  
(Archive of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitanate)

POM = Protokolle des österreichischen Ministerrates V. Abteilung, Vols. I-IV; VI. Abteilung, Vols. I-II  
Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1971-86.

GBCS = George Bariț și contemporanii săi  
Vols. I-VII. Bucuresti: Minerva, 1973-85

DSSS = Ion Dumitriu-Snagov, Le Saint-Siège et la Roumanie Moderne  
Roma: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1982



# TABLE OF TRANSLATIONS OF PLACE NAMES

Hungarian	Romanian	German
1. Districts and Counties		
Alsó-Feher	Alba de Jos	Unterweissenburg
Aranyos	Arieş	
Belső-Szolnok	Solnocul Interior	Inner-Szolnok
Beszterce	Bistriţa	Bistritz
Brassó	Braşov	Kronstadt
Csík	Ciuc	
Doboka	Dabica	
Felső-Fehér	Alba de Sus	Oberweissenburg
Fogaras	Făgăraş	Fogarasch
Háromszék	Trei Scaune	
Hunyad	Hunedoară	
Kolozs	Cluj	Klausenburg
Kőhalom	Rupea	Reps
Küküllő	Tîrnava	Kokelburg
Maros	Mureş	
Medgyes	Mediaş	Mediasch
Nagysink	Şincul Mare	Grossschenk
Nászód	Năsăud	
Segesvár	Sighişoara	Schässburg
Szászsebes	Sebeş	Mühlbach
Szászváros	Orăştie	Broos
Szeben	Sibiu	Hermannstadt
Szerdahely	Miercurea Sibiului	Reussmarkt
Torda	Turda	Thorenburg
Udvarhely	Odorhei	
Újgyház	Nocrich	Leschkirch
2. Privileged Towns outside the Fundus Regius		
Abrudbánya	Abrud	
Bereck	Breţcu	
CsíkSZereda	Miercurea Ciuc	
Dés	Dej	
Déva	Deva	
Erzsébetváros	Dumbrăveni	Elisabethstadt
Fogaras	Făgăraş	Fogarasch
Gyulafehérvár	Alba Iulia	Karlsburg
Illyefalva	Ilieni	
Kézdivásárhely	Tîrgu Secuiesc	
Kolozs	Cojocna	
Kolozsvár	Cluj	Klausenburg
Marosvásárhely	Tîrgu Mureş	Neumarkt
Mócs	Mociu	
Nagyenyed	Aiud	Strassburg
Oláhfalva	Vlăhiţa	
Sepsiszentgyörgy	Sfîntu Gheorghe	

Szamosújvár	Gherla	Armenierstadt
Szék	Sic	
Székelyudvarhely	Ohorheiul Secuiesc	
Torda	Turda	Thorenburg
Vajdahunyad	Hunedoara	
Vízakna	Ocna Sibiului	Salzburg

Note: The official Hungarian name of Gyulafehérvár until 1867 was Karolyfehérvár

### 3. Localities and Regions not Included in 1 or 2

Abásfalva	Aldea	
Alsóvist	Viştea de Jos	
Aranyosbánya	Baia de Arieş	
Balázsfalva	Blaj	Blasendorf
Barcaság	Țara Bîrsei	Burzenland
Bethlen	Beclean	
Bikszád	Bixad	
Bisztra	Bistra	
Boicza	Boița	
Borosbocsárd	Bucerdea Vinoasă	
Borszék	Borsec	
Csíklázárfalva	Lázăreni	
Csikmenaság	Armășeni	
Csikrákos	Racul Ciuc	
Csiksomlyó	Șumleu Ciuc	
Csikszentdomokos	Dămuc	
Csikszentgyörgy	Ciucsîngeorgiu	
Csikszentimre	Sîntimbru	
Csikszentmiklós	Niculeni	
Drassó	Drașov	
Eger		Erlau
Előpatak	Vilcele	
Felsőcsertés	Certeju de Sus	
Felsőgezés	Ghijasa de Sus	Obergesäss
Felsőszombatfalva	Simbata de Sus	
Füzesmikola	Nicula	
Gyergyó	Gheorgheni	
Gyergyószentmiklós	Gheorgheni	
Hátszeg	Hățeg	
Havád	Neaua	
Hídvég	Măierîște	
Homoródalmás	Merești	
Horgaspataka	Strîmbu	
Kanta	Canta	
Kassa	(Slovak: Košice)	Kaschau
Kereszténysziget	Cristian	Grossau
Kézdipolyán	Poian	
Krakó	Cricău	
Kútfalva	Cut	
Lábfalva	Lelești	

Lugos	Lugoş	
Magyarigen	Ighiu	
Magyarláp	Ţirgu Lăpuş	
Magyarpétered	Petrestii de Jos	
Máramaros	Maramureş	
Máramarossziget	Sighetul Marmăţiei	
Markos	Mărcuş	
Mezőcsán	Ceanul Mare	
Mezőszentmárton	Sănmartin de Cîmpie	
Mojszén	Moisei	
Nagybánya	Baia Mare	
Nagyboldogasszony	Bodogaia	Mariendorf
Nagydisznód	Cisnădie	Heltau
Nagyvárad	Oradea	Grosswardein
Pestény	Peşteana	
Pozsony	(Slovak: Bratislava)	Pressburg
Prásmár	Prejmer	Tartlau
Pusztacsán	Ceanul Mic	
Remete	Rimeţi	
Sepsiszentivány	Sîntionlunca	
Spring	Şpring	
Szászcsanád	Cenade	Scholten
Szászrégen	Reghin	Sächsisch Reen
Szelistye	Sălişte	Grossdorf
Szentpéterfalva	Sînpetru	
Szépmező	Şona	Schönau
Szilágyság	Sălaj	
Talmács	Tălmăciu	Talmesch
Temesvár	Timişoara	Temeschburg
Topánfalva	Cîmpeni	
Toplicza	Topliţa	
Torockó	Rimetea	
Töröcsvár	Bran	Törzburg
Tövis	Teiuş	
Vád	Vad	
Várhely	Grădişte	
Verespatak	Roşia Montana	
Versecz	(Serbian: Vršac)	
Zalatna	Zlatna	

### 3. Geographic Features

Maros R.	Mureş R.	Mieresch R.
Érchegység	Munţii Apuseni	Erzgebirge
Olt R.	Olt. R.	Alt R.
Szamos R.	Someş R.	Samosch R.

## INTRODUCTION

Scholars generally accept the view of Oscar Jaszi and Robert A. Kann that religious affiliation was one of the integrating forces in the Habsburg monarchy and nationalism one of the disintegrating ones.<sup>1</sup> The Habsburg dynasty and bureaucracy naturally sought to employ the centripetal forces at their disposal, among which the churches and a religiously inspired social conservatism were prominent. A major paradox of the monarchy in the nineteenth century is that nationalism arose in national groups whose churches and clergy retained an enormous intellectual and social influence and were themselves enmeshed in the national movements. Not only did the Habsburg court continue to rely on religious institutions for support, but it also sought to encourage and harness national movements for imperial ends. The latter policy would have fateful consequences for the monarchy itself. This complex interaction is at the center of this study.

Friedrich Engel-Janosi wrote with reference to the 1860s:

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1. Oscar Jászi, The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), pp. 155-62, 248-67; Robert A. Kann, The Habsburg Empire: A Study in Integration and Disintegration (New York: Praeger, 1957), pp. 7-15, reprinted in: The Austrian Empire: Abortive Federation?, Nancy M. and Harold J. Gordon, eds. (Lexington, Mass: Heath, 1974), pp. 129-36.

In later times it was primarily the parish clergy which was susceptible to political activity in the service of the oppositional, mostly Slavic nationalities. At the time of the Hungarian crisis, the bishops placed themselves at the disposal of the leaders of the national movements... A thorough portrayal of the national opposition of the bishops of the Transleithanian half of the empire would be very welcome.

2

One object of this study is to help fill the lacuna that Engel-Janosi points out. Although the focus is on Transylvania, its intense relations with other Habsburg territories and even with the Danubian Principalities require that these lands also be drawn into the picture.

Between 1860 and 1865 the decisive struggle was fought in the monarchy between the advocates of centralized court control and rule by the two most powerful national groups. The Austrian Germans and the Hungarians, seeking to establish and control parliamentary government in their halves of the monarchy, emerged victorious in the Austro-Hungarian Ausgleich [Compromise] of 1867 after the fall of the liberal centralist regime two years earlier. Emperor Franz Joseph had reluctantly agreed in 1861 to grant a constitution with a central parliament (Reichsrat) composed of representatives of all provinces of the monarchy. The dominant Hungarian aristocracy in both Hungary and Transylvania refused to allow their diets to send deputies to the Reichsrat, thereby threatening the success of the new system. As in its earlier contests with Hungarian particularism, the court was

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2. Österreich und der Vatikan 1846-1918 (Graz: Styria, 1958), 131.

able to enlist a powerful weapon in the struggle to preserve centralized rule: the appeal to the sentiments of the non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary and Transylvania.

A study of this period in the Habsburg province of Transylvania, with its Romanian, Hungarian and Saxon<sup>3</sup> (German) populations, is instructive with respect to the new Habsburg strategy. This time the court went beyond the mere manipulation of national differences. To secure a Transylvanian diet that would send deputies to the Reichsrat, it awarded social benefits and political opportunities to the other nationalities that had lasting significance for the vitality of the national movements. It facilitated major improvements in minority language education, guaranteed the autonomy of the minorities' churches, and permanently broadened the political arena. To break the resistance of the Hungarian nobility, it replaced the corporative electoral law with a more liberal economic one. These benefits granted to the nationalities were in part an extension of the achievements of the revolution of 1848, but they went much further. Romanian gains in Hungary and Transylvania eventually undermined the national hegemony that Hungarian leaders demanded in 1848 and thought they had assured in 1867.

Recent studies have pointed out the importance of the

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3. According to a calculation based on official statistics, the population of Transylvania in 1869 was 57% Romanian, 32% Hungarian and 10.5% German. Károly Keleti, Hazánk és népe a közgazdaság és társadalmi statisztika szempontjából (Pest: Athenaeum, 1871), 72.

clergy in the national movements of East European minorities<sup>4</sup> which lacked a powerful aristocracy or middle class.

Nationalism required ideology and propaganda, functions dependent on the intelligentsia. The clergy often was the dominant element of the intelligentsia in premodern societies. Only as the economic transformation progressed during the nineteenth century was society able to offer intellectual employment outside the church, as education, journalism and the professions expanded. Thus while clerical leadership was strongest among the socially disadvantaged nationalities-- such as the Romanians, Slovaks, Slovenes, Estonians and Lithuanians-- the clergy also played a major cultural and political role among Transylvania's Hungarians and Saxons. While the Hungarians and Saxons had their own aristocracy or middle class, the expansion of politics into the village inevitably involved the clergy. The latter were the most numerous element of the rural intelligentsia in each ethnic group. It was primarily the clergy who received higher education at distant foreign or domestic institutions. The cleric was often an adherent of nationalist ideology and corresponded regularly with church and civil authorities. In an era of restricted social and geographic

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4. Hugh Seton-Watson, "‘Intelligentsia’ und Nationalismus in Osteuropa 1848-1918," Historische Zeitschrift 195 (1962), 331-45; Gale Stokes, "Church and Class in Early Balkan Nationalism," East European Quarterly, 13,3 (1979), 259-70; Miroslav Hroch, Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

mobility, he provided a picture of the outside world through his sermons and less formal contacts with the villagers. Clerical leadership was strongest and survived the longest in relatively isolated or impoverished villages where the nation lacked a wealthier or better-educated aristocracy or middle class.

This study has profited from the recent renaissance of research and publication of Hungarian and Romanian church history. Church historiography was a dominant branch of the historical discipline among Romanians and Saxons during much of the nineteenth century, as typified by the works of Georg Daniel and Friedrich Teutsch and the many works about <sup>5</sup>Şaguna. Hungarian church historiography reached a high level of sophistication during the period between the two <sup>6</sup>world wars. Conditions for church history were unfavorable for most of the period after 1945, but have improved in the last fifteen years as both the Orthodox Church in Romania and the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary have estab-  
<sup>7</sup>lished a modus vivendi with the state. The renaissance of

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5. On the most important Romanian church historian of the interwar period, see Niessen, "Ioan Lupaş and the Cluj School of History Between the World Wars," Balkanistica 7 (1981-2), pp. 78-91.

6. Still interesting today from a theoretical standpoint are the articles in the church history yearbook Regnum by Tihamér Vanyó: "Hogyan írjuk meg egy egyházmegye történetét?" (1937), "A plébániatörténetírás módszertana" (1941), and "Az egyháztörténész szemhatára" (1943).

7. Most of the Romanian Orthodox bishoprics now publish journals that include historical articles, which tend to be apologetic and biographic. Romania hosted a meeting of the International Commission for Comparative Church History at the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Bucharest in 1980 and presented more than a third of the



Catholic church history in this century received specific encouragement from the Second Vatican Council and from the decision of Pope Paul VI in 1966 to open the archives of Pope Pius IX (1846-1878) to historical research. Two products of the improved atmosphere which have proven most useful for this study are the source publications of the Hungarian and Romanian citizens Lajos Lukács and Ion Dumitriu-Snagov.

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papers (Comite international des sciences historiques. XVe Congres international des sciences historiques. Bucarest, 10-17 aout 1980, Actes IV,2 (Bucarest: Academie, 1982), pp. 1133-40), but it is unclear whether this will stimulate church historiography in Romania. I have used Mircea Păcurariu's recent survey of Romanian Orthodox church history: Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române III, București: Editura Institutului biblic și de misiune a Bisericii Ortodoxe Romane, 1981).

8. Part of the Vatican Archives for these years had been open previously, however. Most of the works on Hungarian Catholic church history surveyed by Jenő Gergely in "Disser-tationes Hungaricae ex Historia Ecclesiae (A magyar katolikus egyháztörténetírás újabb eredményeiről)," Századok 117,3 (1983), 647-66) appeared in Germany since 1966, and only a few in Hungary. During most of the period after 1945 church history was suppressed in Hungary even more thoroughly than in Romania, and political conditions still discourage the preoccupation of professional historians with church topics. Unlike the minority Reformed Church, the Catholic Church in Hungary offers no journals or profes-sional training in the field of church history. The publi-cation of Konrad Szántó's A katolikus egyház története and the holding of a church history symposium in Hungary recently indicate the situation may be changing; see Konrad Szanto, "A katolikus egyháztörténetírásról," História 7,4 (1985), 30-31; Zsuzsanna Demeter and János Potó, "Egyháztör-téneti szimpozium," Századok 119 (1985), 1346-8; and most recently Tihamér Vanyó, "Nemzeti egyháztörténetírásunk. Teljesítmények és feladatok," Századok 120 (1986), 678-705.

9. Lukács, The Vatican and Hungary 1846-1878 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1981) and Dumitru-Snagov, Le Saint- Siège et la Roumanie Moderne (Roma: Università Gregoriana Editrice, 1982). There are several Hungarian Protestant journals in Hungary that publish historical articles, and two in Romania. Concerning recent Hungarian Reformed church historiography, see László Makkai, "Református történet-

Scholars in recent years have called for a departure from traditional church history that concentrated on the laudable activities of individual bishops and holy persons and underestimated the social dimension. The church as an institution necessarily had to consider material and political interests that can only be understood independent of theology. Furthermore, historical evidence is silent about the role of churches as an instrument of salvation.<sup>10</sup> The believers' relationship to religion was a complex cultural and social phenomenon. Modern church historians have extended their interest to anthropology, sociology, and social movements.<sup>11</sup>

Gabriel Adriányi has cited the churches' role as expressions of national identity, their original contributions to canon law, distinctive religious ethnography and missionary activity as special East European characteristics.<sup>12</sup>

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írás," Historia 7,4 (1985), 34.

10. This point was emphasized by the President of the American Society of Church History in a recent address: Henry Warner Bowden, "Ends and Means in Church History," Church History 54 (1985), 85.

11. Edith Saurer, "Kirchengeschichte als historische Disziplin," in Denken über Geschichte. Aufsätze zur heutigen Situation des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins und der Geschichtswissenschaft (München: 1974), pp. 157-69; Richard von Dülmen, "Religionsgeschichte in der historischen Sozialforschung," Geschichte und Gesellschaft 6 (1980), 36-59.

12. Gabriel Adriányi, "Die osteuropäische Kirchengeschichte und ihre Integrierung in die Westeuropäische," in Festgabe für Bernhard Stasiewski zum 75. Geburtstag (Leverkusen: Verlagshaus Borengasser, 1980), pp. 45-47. Adriányi is referring here chiefly to the Catholic Church, but his observations apply equally to other churches in the region. See also Bernhard Stasiewski, "Zum Begriff der osteuropäischen Geschichte und Kirchengeschichte," Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift 4 (1953), 324-340.

These traits evolved in an environment of many nationalities and religions, where the variety of contacts reinforced separate identities. Both the ethnic and ecclesiastic dimension of the religious communities extended people's awareness beyond the village, the province and even the state borders. For politically conscious Hungarians in Transylvania in the 1860s, the decisive contest with Austrian absolutism was being fought in Hungary proper. The Saxon view of politics was influenced by the contemporary struggle for supremacy in Germany. The most significant political events for the Romanians during these same years were the unification of the Danubian Principalities in 1859 and the reforms of Prince Cuza in the following years. It is thus possible to speak of ethnic Transylvania as the center of three overlaid rings, three very different national contexts.<sup>13</sup> Each church also represented a religious community that crossed political boundaries, and hence played its part in cultivating awareness of broader ethnic solidarities. International religious solidarities--Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant-- were even more complex, but to some degree they undermined national exclusiveness.

Most of the historiography concerning Transylvania is nationalist in spirit or at least informed by a specific

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13. The historian of the Transylvanian Saxon press noted this phenomenon in the preoccupations of the Saxon, Hungarian and Romanian press in our period: Weisenfeld, 4. Katherine Verdery observes a similar socioeconomic matrix: German merchants, Hungarian landowners, and Romanian peasants: Verdery, 195-229.

national perspective. Stefan Malfèr has noted the absence of a detailed investigation of Austrian policy toward Transylvania during the 1860s, and lamented the lack of a political history of Transylvania not written from the perspective of one of the three nationalities.<sup>14</sup> The national historical traditions are limited by particularist concerns and lines of inquiry. A comparative approach is needed to overcome these limits.<sup>15</sup> This study addresses the general phenomenon of clerical and religious influence in Transylvania, weighing the relative importance of secular and religious institutions, culture and social structure for this influence, and strives for a better understanding of Transylvanian Hungarian, Saxon and Romanian society and their churches.

The possibilities of statistical comparison of the type practiced by Hroch are limited in the case of Transylvania by the dearth of preliminary studies concerning the number, material support, and numerical significance within national intelligentsias of each nation's clergy. The national movements of Transylvanian Hungarians, Saxons and Romanians were of different types with respect to their dominant social classes. Hungarian nationalism was of the aristocratic type, Saxon nationalism bourgeois or middle class, and Romanian nationalism plebeian or clerical. Transylvanian

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14. Introductory study to POM, V,3, xlvi.

15. See György Ránki, "Az összehasonlító történetírás problémái," in Ránki, Mozgásterek, kényszerpályák (Budapest: Magvető, 1983), 173-204.

Romanian society was comparatively "incomplete," lacking an<sup>16</sup>  
upper class like those of the other two nations.

Urban intellectuals increasingly challenged clerical leadership. In general the laicization of politics and culture-- what sociologists call "secularization"-- proceeded throughout the century. Not only were the state and lay institutions taking over many normative and educational functions as well as the control of the property of the church, which is the conventional legal sense of the term secularization. Officials and laymen also contested the influence and leadership of the church and clergy in social movements.

Various factors, however, partially offset this trend and restricted anticlericalism in Transylvania. Clergymen and church schools had long been the center of ethnic identity, as elsewhere in the monarchy. In addition, the Transylvanian constitution which existed up to 1848 had invested special authority in the churches, and their autonomy was largely respected even after 1867. The corporative constitution assured special status to the churches and clergy. It was revised during the 1860s to give greater weight to property, but the religiosity and preference for traditional institutions of Franz Joseph prolonged the

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16. Peter Sugar, "External and Domestic Roots of East European Nationalism," in Sugar and Ivo Lederer, eds., Nationalism in Eastern Europe (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), 43-54, and Emil Niederhauser, A nemzeti megújulási mozgalmak kelet-európában (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1977), 42-5.

importance of the "clerical estate." In time not only was society secularized, but to a degree the churches were declericalized. The social and cultural influence of the clergy declined, and so did the public practice of religiosity among the educated population. Still, the churches retained considerable prestige as national institutions which were increasingly democratized and preoccupied with politics.

Not only the national traditions, but also the vast regional differences within Transylvania have made the study of of Transylvanian history difficult. Three major regions existed: The Hungarian (or Noble) Counties, the Szekler region (Székelyföld) and the Saxon region (Fundus Regius). In each the economy, constitutional structure, strength of the nobility and urban population, status of the peasantry, and the religious and nationality relations were different. These local factors were all the more important for social and political movements in an age of limited mobility and communication. Railways had yet to reach Transylvania, and the cost of a fifty-mile coach ride exceeded most subjects' annual income. Other regional differences arose from the location of geographic features and church centers. Just as the individual national movements should not be viewed in isolation from each other, so also the differences within nations deserve more attention than they have usually received. The atmosphere of the nationality conflict led politicians, and later historians, to emphasize national

unity, and understate divisions. The national idea was supposed to supercede regional and social interests.

The study of religious communities is well-suited to the understanding of ethnic politics in their concrete temporal, cultural and geographical settings. When politics is viewed from the unitary perspective of national ideologists, the complexity of society and also of interethnic relationships is obscured. Church history, with its diocesan and parish structure, can illuminate the cultural geography of the national movements.<sup>17</sup> The study of clergymen as national leaders makes it possible to ascertain the extent and location of their "constituency" with greater accuracy than that of secular politicians.

The relationship of religion, liberalism, and nationalism in rural and ethnic politics is one question raised by Kann and Jászi. Another concerns the relationship of Catholicism and the Habsburg state. Their long symbiosis was based on a substantial commonality of conservative goals. At first glance the years after the Austrian Concordat of 1855 present an instance of extraordinary collaboration. In fact, Austria's tortuous path from ultra-montane absolutism to liberal monarchy in the decade of the 1860s led to significant innovations in church-state relations. The second half of this dissertation gives special

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17. See the use of this term in Emanuel Turczynski, "Zur Kulturgeographie der Nationalbewegung im Südosten," Beiträge zur Südosteuropa-Forschung Anlässlich des I. Internationalen Balkanologenkongresses in Sofia (München: Rudolf Trofenik, 1966), 403-28.

attention to the complex involvement of the Catholic Church in these events as both a domestic and an international factor.

To understand the role of the churches one must investigate the institutional and social elites on which they exercised the greatest influence in the Habsburg political system. Histories of Hungary and Transylvania in the 1860s have given inadequate attention to the precise nature of this system, and consequently have conveyed misleading concepts of Austrian absolutism and the liberal Hungarian opposition. This is especially the case for Transylvania, with its system of social and ecclesiastic checks and balances that favored local conservative elites. These constitutional restrictions on absolute power bound the hands of Vienna's erstwhile centralists, and paved the way for the conservative restoration known as the Ausgleich or Austro-Hungarian Compromise.

The nine chapters of this study proceed from an overview of secular politics, to a comparative examination of administrative regions and social and religious groups, to a detailed discussion of the politics of the Hungarian and Romanian Catholics, and finally a portrayal of various religious leaders' attempts to strengthen their national leadership by securing the administrative separation of their ethnoreligious community from coreligionists of foreign ethnicity.

The first chapter traces certain aspects of the history



of the Habsburg monarchy in the twelve years after the revolution of 1848 that are relevant for an understanding of the importance of the clergy, Hungarian and Austrian liberalism, the Kossuth emigration and the Danubian Principalities for the policies of the Austrian government in Transylvania during the 1860s. The second chapter examines Transylvanian society and administration in terms of the traditional institutions that were reestablished in 1861. The third chapter builds on a knowledge of these structures to present the course of secular politics in the province from 1861 to 1863.

Chapter four is a comparative study of the major religious communities of Transylvania in terms of the training and material support of the parishes and schools, the nature of official and popular religious culture, and the relationship of education, liberalism and secularization. The large issues encountered in this chapter find more specific expression in the later chapters.

Chapters five and six are devoted to the Catholic Church. Chapter five examines the issues of ultramontanism and liberalism in the universal church, the nature of the Greek Catholic Church as a component of the Catholic Church, and the character of Catholic Church politics in Hungary during the 1850s and 1860s. Chapter six narrows the focus to the Transylvanian diocese, and in particular the activity of Bishop Lajos Haynald and various members of his diocesan clergy in the opposition to Austrian policy in the 1860s.

Chapters seven and eight focus on the religious and geographical divisions in Romanian politics and, specifically, within the Greek Catholic Church. Earlier chapters on social structure, secular and religious politics provide a basis for an understanding of a Romanian national movement that was far less united in purpose than is conventionally assumed.

The final chapter addresses one of the most characteristic strivings of ecclesiastic politics in the mid-nineteenth century, the organizational separation of ethnoreligious communities from perceived foreign rule. The Romanian Orthodox, Hungarian Catholics, Hungarian Reformed, and Armenian Catholics are at the center of the chapter. The expression of their concept of churches as alternative polities fittingly concludes the study.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE DECLINE OF ABSOLUTISM AND THE PATH TO DUALISM

The Revolution of 1848 brought improvements in the status of the peasantry in Transylvania. It also brought the union of Hungary and Transylvania, which provoked a civil war that was both social and ethnic in character. All three Transylvanian nationalities were dissatisfied with the absolutist regime that ensued after the end of the civil war in 1849.<sup>1</sup> Hungarians suffered especially. Transylvanians made up a disproportionately high number of the Hungarian revolutionaries condemned to death by the Austrians: 199 of 666, or nearly twice Transylvania's percentage of the population of Hungary.<sup>2</sup> Social and national animosities had undoubtedly increased the dedication of the Transylvanian Hungarian nobility to the revolutionary government.<sup>3</sup> The liquidation of the county administration after 1849 deprived them of their leading role, and most declined any positions in the absolutist administration. Romanians had suffered

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1. Historians use the terms Revolution, War of Independence (Szabadságharc) and Civil War for the events of 1848-9 in the Hungarian lands. I consider the last of these the most accurate description of the year beginning in September, 1848 in Transylvania.

2. István Deák, The Lawful Revolution. Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians 1848-1849 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 335. Many of those condemned were later reprieved.

3. The bitterness of the struggle and the memories it left were symbolized by the destruction by Romanian peasants and guerillas of the Hungarian town of Nagyenyed and the murder of many townspeople of Zlatna. Vilmos Mátyás, Utazások Erdélyben (Budapest: Panorama, 1977), 55, 62, refers to mass graves of 700 persons in these two cases.

considerable human and material losses while fighting in the  
civil war on the side of the Austrians,<sup>4</sup> but their hopes  
for national autonomy were frustrated. Saxons had also  
fought for the Habsburgs and suffered correspondingly, but  
witnessed the dissolution of the Fundus Regius during the  
decade of absolutism.<sup>5</sup> The frequently repeated phrase "We  
received as reward what the Hungarians received as punishment" reflected the virtually equal suppression of autonomous political activity under absolutism.

The peasant emancipation legislation, administrative reform and Concordat enacted under absolutism were all calculated to strengthen the authority of the central government against internal adversaries in the empire. The

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4. The estimates of casualties are contradictory. According to Romanian accounts 40,000 Romanians died in 1848-49, 300 Orthodox churches, 100 villages were destroyed completely and 230 partially; Keith Hitchins, The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780-1849 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), 274 and *ibid.*, Orthodoxy and Nationality. Andreiu Saguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 78. Iosif Sterca-Șuluțiu accepted the 40,000 figure and estimated the corresponding Hungarian fatalities at 100,000 (a figure that seems extraordinarily high)-- "Din istoria munților apuseni," Gazeta Transilvaniei (1891), p. 18, cited by Ambrus Miskolczy, bibliographic annex to Erdély története III (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), 1805. An official Austrian estimate of civilian "victims of the Hungarian rebels" gave a total of 5405 Romanians out of 6112; Eduard Albert Bielz, Handbuch der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens (Hermannstadt: S. Filtsch, 1857), 149. With the much greater casualties from typhus and among the military, Bielz estimated 18,000 Transylvanians died during the civil war.

5. Two Saxon towns were burned by Szekler guard units during the civil war. While Saxon municipal life suffered the same limitations as those in other parts of Transylvania, it is also true that Saxons received disproportionately more positions in the absolutist administration than either the Hungarians or the Romanians.

adversaries of the regime were most numerous in Hungary and Transylvania. The prosecution of the Hungarian participants in the Revolution-- about 120 were executed and 1500 sentenced to multiple years of imprisonment -- achieved the short-term goal of pacification, but also the alienation of most politically conscious Hungarians. Most of the former leaders of Hungarian society, aristocrats, noblemen and urban intellectuals, withdrew from the administration into hostile passivity,<sup>7</sup> or used the limited possibilities of the censored press to keep the memory of the revolution alive. Kossuth and the other revolutionary leaders in exile sought to discredit the Austrian regime, collaborate with other democratic emigres, and maintain their tenuous connection with the underground opposition in Hungary. The assassination attempt against the emperor Franz Joseph by a young Hungarian in February, 1853, it is true, had no connection with the emigration.<sup>8</sup> But the abortive revolutionary conspiracy of József Makk in the previous year had ties to Kossuth and acted in his name.

The conspiracy was betrayed and a series of arrests

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6. Deák, 333-5. Deák notes that those executed included "an astonishing number of Catholic priests." Of a list of 666 condemned Hungarian revolutionaries, two-thirds were soldiers, but 21 were Catholic priests or monks and eleven were Reformed ministers and preachers; *ibid.*, 334-6.

7. As late as 1859, only 37 of the 83 highest posts in Hungary were occupied by natives of that country; Éva Somogyi, Az abszolútizmus és kiegyezés 1849-1867 (Budapest: Gondolat, 1981), 67.

8. György Szabad, Hungarian Political Trends between the Revolution and the Compromise (1849-1867) (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1977), 64-5.

followed, with twenty-five persons executed. The center of the movement was the Szekler region of Transylvania, and the conspirators hoped to coordinate the insurrection with an armed incursion from the Danubian Principalities. Some 600 were arrested in the Szekler region alone, including a surprisingly large number of clergymen and school teachers. The Roman Catholic Canon Mózes Keserű was implicated in Kolozsvár, but exonerated. Of 48 persons condemned to death, whose sentences were later commuted to five years or more, there were seventeen landowners, five lawyers, six Reformed [Calvinist] ministers, four students, two principals of Protestant secondary schools, two Catholic priests and one Unitarian minister. Correspondence concerning the conspiracy was discovered in the residence of a Reformed preacher and professor at the Reformed College in Marosvásárhely, the college was searched by the police and several students arrested. The Franciscan abbot-professors in Marosvásárhely and Csíksomlyó were also arrested. The abbot in Csíksomlyó was exonerated and released in

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9. Ibid., 51.

10. Somogyi, 84.

11. Ladislau Gyémánt, Pompiliu Teodor, "Clujul în timpul revoluției de la 1848-1849 și a regimului neoabsolutist și liberal," in Ștefan Pascu, ed., Istoria Clujului ([Cluj-Napoca]: Consiliul popular al municipiului Cluj, 1974), 271.

12. Balázs Orbán, A Székelyföld leírása IV (Pest: Rath Mór, 1870), 159; facsimile rpt., Budapest: Helikon, 1982, I), reprinted in Dénes Károlyi, Székely vértanúk 1854 (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1975), 217-18.

13. Orbán, loc. cit. The professor, János Török, was among those executed. On his theological and philosophical writings, see Károlyi, "A Habsburg-ellenes mozgalom múltjából," Korunk N.S. 42 (1983), 66-7.

1854, but the abbot in Marosvasarhely and a village priest of Udvarhely district were condemned to death, later commuted to fifteen and eight years in prison, respectively.<sup>14</sup>

The participation or implication of so many church or school leaders in the conspiracy suggests that sympathy for the emigre leaders or at least strong alienation were considerable even among those groups of society which one would expect to be the most conservative. The rapid liquidation of the conspiracy, however, demonstrated the formidable obstacle that Austrian police surveillance presented to such a movement. It became evident that a prospective insurrection would have a better chance of success if coordinated with foreign military action. Thus, as a result of the conspiracy's failure the emigre leaders devoted more of their attention to the search for allies among the existing states.

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#### Foreign Policy in the Decade of Absolutism

Diplomatic developments in the decade favored the Hungarian search for allies. Austria had been able to defeat the Hungarian War of Independence in 1849 largely

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14. Károlyi, Székely vértanúk 1854, 46; Egyed Hermann, A magyar katolikus papság az osztrák katonai diktatúra és az abszolutizmus idejében (Gödöllő: n.n., 1932), 71, 74-5. The abbot in Marosvásárhely, Rafael Andrássy, and the village priest, Mózes Pálffy, are not included in Orbán's list. All those imprisoned were set free as the result of the imperial amnesty of May, 1857-- Orbán, loc.cit. According to Ferenc Koós, the abbot in Csíksomlyó, Ignác Veress, was executed; introduction by György Beke, in Koós, Életem és emlékeim (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1971), 22.

thanks to the Russian military intervention resulting from the two powers' conservative solidarity in the Holy Alliance. As the result of the Crimean War (1853-56), the alliance came to an end. The new French policy of support for the expansionist designs of Piedmont-Sardinia put Austria on the defensive. This pressure as well as fears of Russian expansion in the Balkans caused Austria to side with Russia's enemies in the war and thereby force Russia to sue for peace. The experience embittered Russia, particularly its Foreign Minister Gorchakov, so that in succeeding years Russia allied with Austria's adversary in northern Italy, France. Weakened by its military and diplomatic embarrassment in the war, Russia became a diplomatic auxiliary for French designs in succeeding years.

The first consequence of Austria's isolation was its defeat in the Danubian Principalities. In 1854 it had obliged Russia to end its occupation of these provinces, and subsequently occupied them herself for more than two years. Various Austrian actions seemed to indicate it desired to permanently annex the Principalities, like the article in an Austro-Prussian convention in 1854 which provided for the extension of the German federal defense system to include the Principalities. The Western press and diplomats discussed the possibility of Austrian annexation of the Principalities in exchange for compensation to France or

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15. Barbara Jelavich, The Habsburg Empire in European Affairs, 1814-1918 (Hamden, Conn: Archon, 1975), 69-79.



Sardinia in Italy. The international congress after the Crimean War in 1856 approved the Austrian demand for the end of the Russian protectorate over the Principalities, but also required the end of the Austrian occupation and the establishment of an all-European protectorate. Nervous about Romanian nationalism in the Principalities, Austria now worked for the restoration of Ottoman control and favored the conservative party. Officials in Transylvania<sup>17</sup> feared the potential impact on the Romanians there.

For the Romanians in the Principalities, as for the Transylvanian Hungarians in 1848, the pervasive slogan was "Union": in this case, that of the Principalities. The circumstances under which the first stage of the union was achieved were even reminiscent of the Kolozsvár diet in 1848. Having been elected prince of Moldavia in January, 1859, Alexandru Ioan Cuza was then nominated by the liberals in the election in Wallachia two weeks later. It is likely

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16. Dan Berindei, Epoca unirii (București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1979), 35-6; for the contemporary Hungarian perspective see Domokos Kosáry, Széchenyi Döblingben (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), 67-72. During their stay the Austrian troops also cracked down on the Hungarian emigre activists in the Principalities-- Zoltán Szász, "Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben (1849-1867)," in Erdély története III (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), 1463.

17. Numerous reports of District Chief Thiemann and police officers Semetkowsky, Jankowsky and Siebert, 1857-9, in Documente inedite privitoare la istoria Transilvaniei între 1848-1859. Din arhivele de stat a ministerului de interne și justiție dela Viena, Ed. Mihail Popescu (București: "Cartea românească," 1929). But Thiemann declared flatly in a letter of August 18, 1859: "Was lässt sich wahrnehmen über Verbindungen der Rumänen Siebenbürgens mit jenen in der Moldau und Wallachei? Im Volke gar nichts."-- Ibid., 300.

that this union was more popular than that of Transylvania and Hungary had been in 1848, but the conservative electoral assembly appeared likely to defeat Cuza. The liberals brought crowd pressure to bear on the assembly to elect him, just as the Hungarians of Kolozsvár had allegedly terrorized the Saxon deputies in 1848.<sup>18</sup>

The double election of Cuza took place without, or in defiance of, foreign interference. It was a defeat for Austria because it was achieved by a popular movement and because the union could be expected to stimulate Romanian nationalism in Transylvania. France favored the union, and Russia was willing to tolerate it, in order to weaken Austria. This was also the decisive consideration for the Hungarian emigres and their emissary, the veteran of 1848-9 General Klapka. Becoming aware of the approaching war of France and Sardinia against Austria at the beginning of 1859, he raised the possibility of Hungarian participation in the action. Kossuth was reluctant, due in part to his well-founded skepticism concerning French intentions. Klapka won his approval for the idea only after concluding

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18. Berindei, 87-91; Gerald Bobango, The Emergence of the Romanian National State (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 33-7; Barbara Jelavich, Russian and Formation of the Romanian National State 1821-1878 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 96-7. By an interesting coincidence, László Berzenczei, the agitator at the 1848 diet, was an emissary of the Hungarian emigration in the Principalities during these years. On the role of Berzenczei in 1848, see Miklós Asztalos, Kossuth Lajos kora és az erdélyi kérdés (Budapest: Collegium Transilvanicum, 1928), 121, and Carl Göllner, Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Revolutionsjahren 1848-1849 (Bukarest: Akademie, 1967), 139.

an agreement, in March, 1859, on collaboration between  
France and Prince Cuza.<sup>19</sup> Local politics were to greatly  
complicate the application of the agreement. For the moment  
it was an impressive demonstration of the geopolitical possibilities of the French alliance. The perspective of the Transylvanian Hungarians was contradictory. Rumors of an invasion from Russia or the Principalities inspired insubordination among some Transylvanian Romanian peasants and miners. Fearing a recurrence of the events of 1849, many Hungarian landowners moved to the cities or even to  
Hungary.<sup>20</sup>

The first central institution of the emigres, the Hungarian National Directory, was established in Paris on May 6, 1859, one week after the commencement of Franco-Austrian hostilities. The Directory-- composed of Kossuth, Klapka and László Teleki-- began the organization of a Hungarian Legion of 3500-4000 men within the Sardinian army, chiefly from Hungarian deserters and captives from the  
Austrian army.<sup>21</sup> From the standpoint of the emigres, the

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19. Lajos Lukács, Magyar politikai emigráció 1849-1867 (Budapest: Kossuth, 1984), 134-42. Klapka negotiated the agreement as the emissary of the French emperor. Contrary to Lukács, Vasile Curticăpeanu states that Cuza never signed the protocol of the agreement because he was dissatisfied with its vagueness on the question of Transylvania; "Alexandru Ioan Cuza și Transilvania," in Cuza Voda in memoriam (Iași: Junimea, 1973), 418-19.

20. Reports of Colonels Jankowsky and Siebert, May 22-3, 1859, in Documente inedite privitoare istoria Transilvaniei, 264, 281-2.

21. Lukács, Magyar politikai emigráció, 147. The Franco-Sardinian troops facing Austria in Italy numbered about 320000; Joseph Redlich, Das österreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem, I, pt. 2 (Leipzig: Der neue Geist-

minor part played by the Hungarian troops and the rapid conclusion of the armistice by France were a disappointment. The alliance of Hungarian troops with France and the desertion of two Hungarian infantry divisions under Franz Joseph's personal command were propaganda victories for the emigres, and helped to explain the rapid Austrian capitulation after the French victory at Solferino. The new Austrian Foreign Minister wrote later that fear of domestic unrest and a Hungarian uprising caused Franz Joseph to make peace when he did.<sup>22</sup> The prospect of an armed insurrection was minimal, but the perception of the fragility of the political regime was accurate.

The Franco-Austrian war marked the high point of the emigration's military power. With the conclusion of peace, the Directory quickly realized that the Legion in northern Italy no longer had a purpose and dissolved it. The recent recruits from the Austrian army were allowed to return home where they could make a political impact.<sup>23</sup> The renewal of hostilities against Austria that the Directory hoped for became increasingly unlikely, and the focus of Hungarian politics shifted again to the domestic front.

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Verlag, 1920), 175.

22. Szabad, Hungarian Political Trends, 75; Redlich, I, pt. 1, 753.

23. Elek Csetri, introductory study to the memoirs of the emigre Sándor Teleki, Emlékezzünk régiekről (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1973), 30.

Austria conceded its military defeat and the loss of Lombardy and embarked on a course of internal retrenchment. The threat of a Hungarian uprising may account for the timing of the armistice, but the sources of the Austrian defeat were deeper. The unsuccessful foreign and domestic policies of the emperor since the revolution had led to the empire's progressive isolation and financial crisis. Franz Joseph made the dismissed Foreign Minister, Count Buol, responsible for his own disastrous policies, but was becoming aware of the exasperation in society at his own military despotism.<sup>24</sup> A week after the armistice, the emperor issued his Laxenburg Manifesto pledging to

dedicate my complete and uninterrupted attention and care to the successful solution of my task: to permanently establish Austria's internal welfare and external power through the purposeful development of its rich intellectual and material energies as well as through timely improvements in legislation and administration. <sup>25</sup>

The terse manifesto, revealing the nervous caution of an autocrat whose own policies were under attack, initiated a series of experiments with new policies. In August, the two ministers most responsible for administering the failed internal regime, Interior Minister Bach and Police Minister <sup>26</sup> Kempen, were replaced. Bankers met the attempts of

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24. Buol left his successor, Count Rechberg, an extensive memorandum describing the state of opinion and a proposal for reform; Redlich, I, pt. 1, 462; the memorandum is in I, pt. 2, 234-40.

25. Ibid., I, pt. 2, 173-74.

26. The Austrian Foreign Minister was simultaneously Minister des kaiserlichen Hauses with special access to the

Finance Minister Bruck to float new loans by calling for representative institutions to supervise public finances. The revelations about the desperate financial situation and unjust accusations of malfeasance drove Bruck to suicide in April, 1860. The emperor reluctantly surrendered to the calls for fiscal responsibility, announcing in March, 1860 the convocation of an assembly of imperial notables to discuss the matter, the expanded Reichsrat, in June, 1860.

While high officials in Vienna discussed the financial dilemma, the revival of political life in Hungary focussed on other issues. Office holders Of Hungarian nationality were few and lacking in prestige, and freedom of the press severely limited. Therefore popular discontent found expression, already before the Laxenburg Manifesto, in the actions of Catholic prelates and a few wealthy landowners. Cardinal Archbishop Scitovszky led the opposition of the Hungarian episcopate to the Concordat of 1855,<sup>27</sup> which he viewed as an intrusion by the Archbishop of Vienna on Hungarian rights. Scitovszky's stance added to his prestige, but was in essence a narrowly ecclesiastical matter. More significant in a secular sense was the address of 131

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emperor and traditionally the leading minister in status. Rechberg also became the first Prime Minister since 1852, meaning that unlike Buol he would take a leading role in internal policy and in discussions in the Council of Ministers. Decisions of the Council would be by majority vote and binding on all the members. See Helmut Rumpler, "Minsterrat und Ministerratsprotokolle 1848 bis 1867. Behördengeschichtliche und aktenkundliche Analyse," in POM, Einleitungsband (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1970), 56-7.

27. See Chapter V.

Hungarian notables during his visit to Hungary in May, 1857, calling in moderate terms for a change of policy.

Scitovszky was the leading signatory to the document, and displeased the court even further by his organization of a mass pilgrimage to Mariazell in Austria in September of the same year. The long procession of 25000 persons, including 36 magnates, was the largest public assembly since the revolution. Ostensibly religious in nature, it impressed many contemporaries as an anti-Austrian patriotic demonstration because of Scitovszky's published and oral declarations, its size and the national costumes and number of the participants. 28

The other leading domestic figure of the early Hungarian political revival was Count István Széchenyi. The founder of the national revival in the 1820s enjoyed tremendous prestige despite his conflicts with Kossuth and emotional breakdown in 1848. Living in an asylum near Vienna, Széchenyi had recovered sufficiently by the end of 1856 to begin to write again. 29 At the end of 1857 he began to

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28. István Nemeskürty, Parázs a hamu alatt. Világostól Solferinóig (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), 210-17. Kempen wrote in his memoir that he unsuccessfully advocated Scitovszky's removal from his see as a result of this event. The most extensive published description is János Török, "Az évszázados Máriaczelli búcsú," Török János publicistikai és nemzetgazdasági némely dolgozatai (Pest: Rath Mór bizománya, 1858), 503-18; the same author also published two pastoral letters of Scitovszky concerning the pilgrimage, in Magyarország primása. Közjogi és történeti vázolat, II (Pest: Laufer és Stolp, 1859), 265-81.

29. Kosáry, 60-1, implies that the new diplomatic situation after the Crimean War helped to inspire Széchenyi's recovery and renewed interest in politics, but he fails to demonstrate the connection. His clerical contacts may have been more significant. Széchenyi only began to write about foreign policy questions in May, 1857; 83 ff.

write what became the most important Hungarian polemical work of the decade in response to an apologia for Austrian absolutism. Széchenyi's bitterly satirical Blick auf den anonymen Rückblick appeared anonymously in London in July, 1859.<sup>30</sup> The date of publication greatly increased the international impression it made. In Hungary the response to the work was overwhelmingly positive and contributed to the growth of the opposition, even though it is an exaggeration to state that it was responsible for the fall of Bach. Széchenyi maintained contact with a large number of opposition politicians during the crisis of 1859-60, including most of the conservative aristocrats,<sup>31</sup> the retired Archbishop Lonovics, and even the future Austrian minister Schmerling,<sup>32</sup> who visited him in December, 1859.

The Protestant Patent enacted for Hungary in September, 1859 served as a convenient pretext for open political action by the opposition. The newly permitted Reformed district synods were the first such public assemblies in Hungary since the revolution. Reformed bishops and aristo-

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30. It was a response to [Bernhard von Meyer], Rückblick auf die jüngste Entwicklungsperiode Ungarns (Wien, 1857). Jácint Rónay served as Széchenyi's intermediary with the publisher in London. The Benedictine monk was recommended to Széchenyi by József Lonovics, the former archbishop during the Revolution. Kosáry, 177-8.

31. The Austrian police mistakenly considered Szechenyi the leader of the Old Conservatives (See below). His general views and sympathies were close to the Old Conservatives, but his situation as a virtual prisoner in his asylum precluded his active leadership, and he did not consider it politically opportune to formulate a specific program of demands as did the Old Conservatives. Ibid., 218ff.

32. Ibid., 304.



crats protested against the Patent as contrary to church law, and were supported by many Catholics, including Cardinal Scitovszky.<sup>33</sup> Public opinion may well have rejected

any sort of legislation coming from Vienna. The court backed down, and the Patent was repealed in May, 1860.

Redlich writes:

From week to week the discontent and public unrest increased... The impression increasingly made on the emperor and his closest advisors by Hungarian conditions would henceforth be the real driving force of internal policy in the empire.<sup>34</sup>

The influence of the group of Hungarian magnates known as the Old Conservatives, led by Count Antal Szécsen, rose rapidly at this time. They convinced Franz Joseph, in March and April, 1860, to name a Hungarian as Governor of Hungary and to announce plans to restore the former county administration and diet, despite the opposition of two archdukes<sup>35</sup> and of the majority of the Council of Ministers.

A series of Hungarian national celebrations in the winter of 1859-60 provided further opportunities for meetings, patriotic rhetoric and parades.<sup>36</sup> One typical event was the founding of the Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet [Transylvanian Museum Society], a cultural association of the Transylvanian Hungarians, in Kolozsvár in November, 1859. Dismissing allegations of disunity among the citizens of the country, the president of the society, Count Imre

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33. Nemeskürty, 281.

34. Redlich, I. pt. 1, 490.

35. Redlich, I, pt. 1, 491-9.

36. See Somogyi, 113.

Mikó, announced that Hungarian national feeling had never been stronger, and the new society would help to cultivate a unified sense of patriotism in all.<sup>37</sup>

Kossuth's National Directory was beginning to establish ties with Hungarian radicals.<sup>38</sup> Conservative aristocrats, however, quickly reasserted their leadership of the country, supplanting the absolutist officials. Several factors account for this. First, many of the Old Conservatives, while rejecting participation in the Habsburg administration, had maintained their contacts, sources of information and potential influence at the court. Second, from religious faith and family tradition they had strong ties to the hoffähig, socially influential church leadership. Third, aristocrats continued to dominate the leading bodies of such cultural organizations as the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The uncontested leader of the Transylvanian moderates, Imre Mikó, in 1860 formulated six basic principles<sup>39</sup> which can serve as a summary of the group's attitudes: the cultivation of native Hungarian literature; national unity and a rejec-

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37. Lajos Ürmössy, Tizenhét év Erdély történetéből, I (Temesvár: Nyomtatott a Csanád-egyházmegyei könyvsajton, 1894), 202-3.

38. György Szabad, "Az önkényuralom kora (1849-1867)," in Magyarország története 1848-1890 (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1979), I, 648-9; Lukács, 167.

39. Mikó, "Irányszék," Budapesti szemle No. 8, 257-68; No. 9, 3-16, 257-71; No. 10, 5-20, 261-73; No. 11, 3-12 (1860). Zoltán Szász ("Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben (1848-1849)," in Erdély története 1830-tól napjainkig (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), 1448 and elsewhere) refers to Mikó as a "moderate liberal," but in the Transylvanian politics of 1860-63 his politics were closer to those of the conservatives than the liberals.

tion of "party spirit"; careful, traditional education; family values; the protection of landed property, national institutions and traditions, and historical consciousness; and the rejection of emigration as a form of disloyalty. Mikó's program was undeniably elitist and conservative, but in the context of 1860 it appeared a suitable blend of patriotism and prudence.

The widespread mourning of the tragic suicide of Szechenyi in April<sup>40</sup> and the death of the Transylvanian Old Conservative leader Baron Sámuel Jósika provoked new demonstrations of national unity that seemed to confirm the leadership of the conservatives. Nearly 10000 attended the funeral of Széchenyi in Hungary; smaller ceremonies commemorated him all over Transylvania, including in Romanian communities that remembered his tolerant views on nationality problems.<sup>41</sup> The meeting of the Saxon Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde in Bistritz in August, 1860 featured a series of speeches on Saxon national culture and patriotism. Baron József Eötvös attended the meeting, as he had that of the Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet in November, on behalf of the Hungarian Academy. His dramatic speech, describing

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40. Police harassment apparently caused Szechenyi's mind to come unhinged again. Public opinion was quick to accuse the police, unjustly, of murder; at any rate, his status as a martyr was assured. Szabad, "Önkényuralom," 651-2; Kosáry, 248-75.

41. Ürmösy, I 224-5. A similar episode was the Hungarian-Romanian fraternization at a celebration in Kolozsvár at the end of July (Ibid., I 229-30). But the refusal of Romanian Greek Catholic dean Ioan Fekete-Negrutiu (see Chapter VII) to attend was a foretaste of future conflicts; see Fekete-Negrutiu to Baritiu, May 19, GBCS III, 161.

scholarship as a mountain on which all nations would join hands upon reaching the peak, appeared in newspapers throughout the country.<sup>42</sup> It was, unfortunately, one of the last speeches of the "era of good feelings," of anti-absolutist solidarity.

The seeming unity of the opponents of absolutism arose in part from a virtual absence of public debate. Széchenyi's Blick was exclusively negative and presented no program. On the other hand, Eotvos published a study in the same year, Die Garantien der Macht und Einheit Österreichs, which sought to reconcile dynastic and national interests by a federal system and a weak central parliament. The Hungarian press and most leaders rejected the work as contrary to Hungarian constitutional independence.<sup>43</sup> The framework of an underground insurrectionary organization of the emigration was being laid in Hungary and Transylvania.<sup>44</sup> Participants in the ceremonies welcoming Eötvös to the Szekler town of Székelyudvarhely in August, 1860 reported, among cheers for friendship between the peoples, isolated cheers for Kossuth and Garibaldi as well.<sup>45</sup>

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42. György Kristóf, Báró Eötvös József utazásai Erdélyben (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1932), 20-4.

43. István Schlett, Eötvös József (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 177-81.

44. Ürmösy, I, 219-22.

45. Kristóf, 27.

## The Expanded Reichsrat

The opening of the expanded Reichsrat caused local politics in Hungary and Transylvania to fade temporarily into the background. Eötvös had by now revised his views and his new book, Die Sonderstellung Ungarns vom Standpunkte der Einheit Deutschlands, was closer to the views of Ferenc Deák, the architect of the eventual compromise. For this reason, Eötvös declined his invitation to the Reichsrat. Ironically, Eötvös' views of the previous year helped inspire the program of the aristocratic conservative majority in the assembly. The expanded Reichsrat (verstärkter<sup>46</sup> Reichsrat) consisted of sixty members, eight from the original body plus officials, landowners, clergy and Chamber of Commerce members appointed by the emperor on the recommendation of the provincial governors.<sup>47</sup> The emperor called upon the members to offer their advice on "important questions of general legislation and the normalization of the state budget."<sup>48</sup>

Discussion in the body quickly turned from budgetary questions to the political reorganization of the empire. The majority position was presented by Count Clam of Bohemia and Count Szécsen and other aristocrats of Hungary. They proposed a federation of the "historical-political indivi-

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46. The original Reichsrat (Imperial Council) was an advisory body with six Austrian and two Hungarian members established in 1851. Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 326.

47. Redlich, I, pt. 1, 489.

48. Ibid., I, pt. 1, 501.

dualities" (the previously existing crown lands or provinces), equal with respect to each other and each with its autonomous corporative constitution and diet. The minority, led by the Viennese bureaucrats Count Nádasdy and Baron Lichtenfels, insisted that the granting of autonomy to the provinces would dangerously weaken central state power and Austria's international position. Furthermore, they argued, the federalists' insistence on the restoration of the old feudal constitution in the Austrian hereditary provinces (the future Cisleithania) was ahistorical and unrealistic because the estates there had enjoyed little power or autonomy for the better part of two centuries.

The constitutional demands of the federalists corresponded in large part to the minimum programs of their respective national movements opposing German bureaucratic centralism. These two camps would continue to face each other, in public debate and in that in the Council of Ministers, for the next several years. The divisions over the Austrian-Hungarian problem also continued. But the emperor's preference for aristocratic and bureaucratic members had artificially colored the deliberations from the outset, obscuring the ascendancy of liberal ideas in public opinion in all parts of the monarchy as the controls on the press began to be relaxed.

The federalists' program became the basis for a reorganization of the empire in October. The majority enjoyed by this party in the Reichsrat was not decisive in itself,

but rather Franz Joseph's personal decision, in spite of the views of his ministers, to accept the proposals of the federalists. The thoroughly surprised Council of Ministers had no choice but to accept the federalist October Diploma,<sup>49</sup> which was promulgated on October 20. The Diploma was a sort of centralist constitution in the sense that the Reichsrat, expanded to 100 members, and the provincial diets were guaranteed participation (Mitwirkung) in legislation. Matters concerning the entire empire, primarily financial,<sup>50</sup> must go before the Reichsrat, while all others were reserved for the diets. In a simultaneous letter to Rechberg as Prime Minister, Franz Joseph authorized the reestablishment of the Hungarian, Transylvanian and Croatian<sup>51</sup> Court Chancelleries for all civil administration of these lands and the replacement of the former Ministries of Interior, Justice, and Culture by a Ministry of State, thus unifying under one ministry the administration of all the

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49. Redlich, I, pt. 1, 612-22. He refers to the Diploma as a "coup d'état of the aristocracy against the bureaucracy." (623) The project of Count Emil Dessewffy of mid-September, which closely resembled the Diploma and accompanying measures, literally refers to the promulgation as a "coup d'état." (Deák Ferencz beszédei, Ed. Manó Kónyi, II (Budapest: Franklin, 1886), 244-69. The text of the Diploma is in Redlich II, pt. 2, 228-9 and Deák Ferencz beszédei, II, 273-5.

50. The imperial edict of July 17, 1860 had stipulated that all new taxes and expenditures, the increase of tax rates and duties, and all state loans and duties must be approved by the Reichsrat; Friedrich Walter, Österreichische Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte von 1500-1955 (Köln: Bohlau, 1972), 187.

51. Until November 20, 1861 the official name of the Croatian body was provisorisches kroatisch-slawnisches Hofdikasterium.

lands not subject to the restored chancelleries. The Minister of the Interior, Count Goluchowski, became the first Minister of State.

The public Hungarian response to the Diploma was negative almost from the beginning. As in the rejection of Eötvös' book of 1859, Deák and the most influential Hungarian newspapers rejected the authority, however limited, of the Reichsrat over Hungarian affairs and demanded the restoration of the laws of 1848.<sup>53</sup> The application of the Diploma in the hereditary provinces required the issuance of new statutes for the operation of the diets and the election by them of deputies to the Reichsrat. The conservative aristocratic nature of the new statutes and the limited legislative powers granted to the Reichsrat aroused the dissatisfaction of the liberal Austrian press. Consequently Goluchowski became discredited and isolated in the Council of Ministers. On December 13, 1860 he resigned.

The Reichsrat had helped to create a misleading impression of the degree of moderation of the Hungarian politicians concerning the restoration of Hungarian constitutionalism, since the views of the Old Conservatives were actually unpopular. But the Reichsrat also gave voice to calls for the modification of the Hungarian constitution by non-

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52. Szász, "Erdély az abszolutizmus korában" (1474) incorrectly states the chancelleries were subordinate to the Ministry of State as central government. As will become clear, the Ministry of State and the chancelleries were parallel and independent institutions.

53. Deák Ferencz beszédei, II, 287-8.



Hungarians from the Hungarian lands. Three of these were Romanians: Baron Nicolae Petrino from Austrian Bukovina, Andrei Mocioni [Mocsonyi] from the Banat, and Orthodox Bishop Şaguna from Transylvania. In Şaguna's view, which was supported by his two Romanian colleagues, the program of the federalists was inadequate because the old order they favored benefitted only the Hungarian aristocracy and middle class. Rather, all provincial constitutions should be modified to guarantee the equality of nationalities and churches, their representation in the provincial and central governments, a free press, and the necessary strength of the central government.<sup>54</sup>

The three Transylvanian members of the Reichsrat were Şaguna, Bogdán Jakabb, the Hungarian Mayor of Szamosújvár<sup>55</sup>, and Karl Maager, a Saxon and president of the Chamber of Commerce in Kronstadt. Each presented what would become the dominant viewpoint of his nationality in

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54. Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, 98-100; Verhandlungen des österreichischen Verstarkten Reichsrates 1860 (Wien: Friedrich Manz, 1860; facsimile rpt., Wien: Verlag des Wissenschaftlichen Antiquariats H. Geyer, 1972) II, 284-7. Hitchins' statement (98) that Saguna rejected the positions of both the federalists and centralists is only partially correct. Autonomy should be recognized, but not in the way the federalists visualized. The very first of Saguna's ten stated principles for the reorganization of the monarchy was its unity; he stated explicitly that he supported the centralists' basic position, adding ironically, "Ich glaube, die Einheit der Monarchie ist schon in der That zur historisch-politischen Individualität gelangt."-- Verhandlungen, II 286. He abstained from the final voting on the federalist and centralist proposals, however. (Hitchins, op.cit., 101).

55. Like most citizens of Szamosújvár Jakabb was of Armenian origin, but his political views were essentially those of a conservative Hungarian.

succeeding years. Jakabb rejected the Romanians' call for national equality, as such a measure would effectively reduce the rights of a nation that had been enjoying them for centuries and undermine a constitution which had many praiseworthy aspects.<sup>56</sup> Maager denounced the constitutional conservatism of Jakabb, and went even further than the centralists in the opposite direction. The Saxons had benefitted from their autonomous constitution in the past, but the financial situation and the requirements of the new age had made this constitution obsolete: Austria required a single constitution, representing all groups of the population, including urban citizens and peasants. He added rhetorically that he had stated his principles "although the stifled press is not even allowed to pronounce the word  
"constitution."<sup>57</sup>

Maager's pronouncements made him an instant hero of the liberal press and bourgeoisie of Vienna.<sup>58</sup> He was the only member of the Reichsrat to speak in favor of a liberal constitution, but Bruck and his successor in the Ministry of Finance, Ignaz von Plener, expressed similar ideas in the Council of Ministers in 1859-61. From personal conviction and their familiarity with financial circles, they concluded that Austria could only stabilize its credit situation if the German middle classes played a regular role in the

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56. Verhandlungen II, 301-2.

57. Ibid., I, 715-16, II, 295-97.

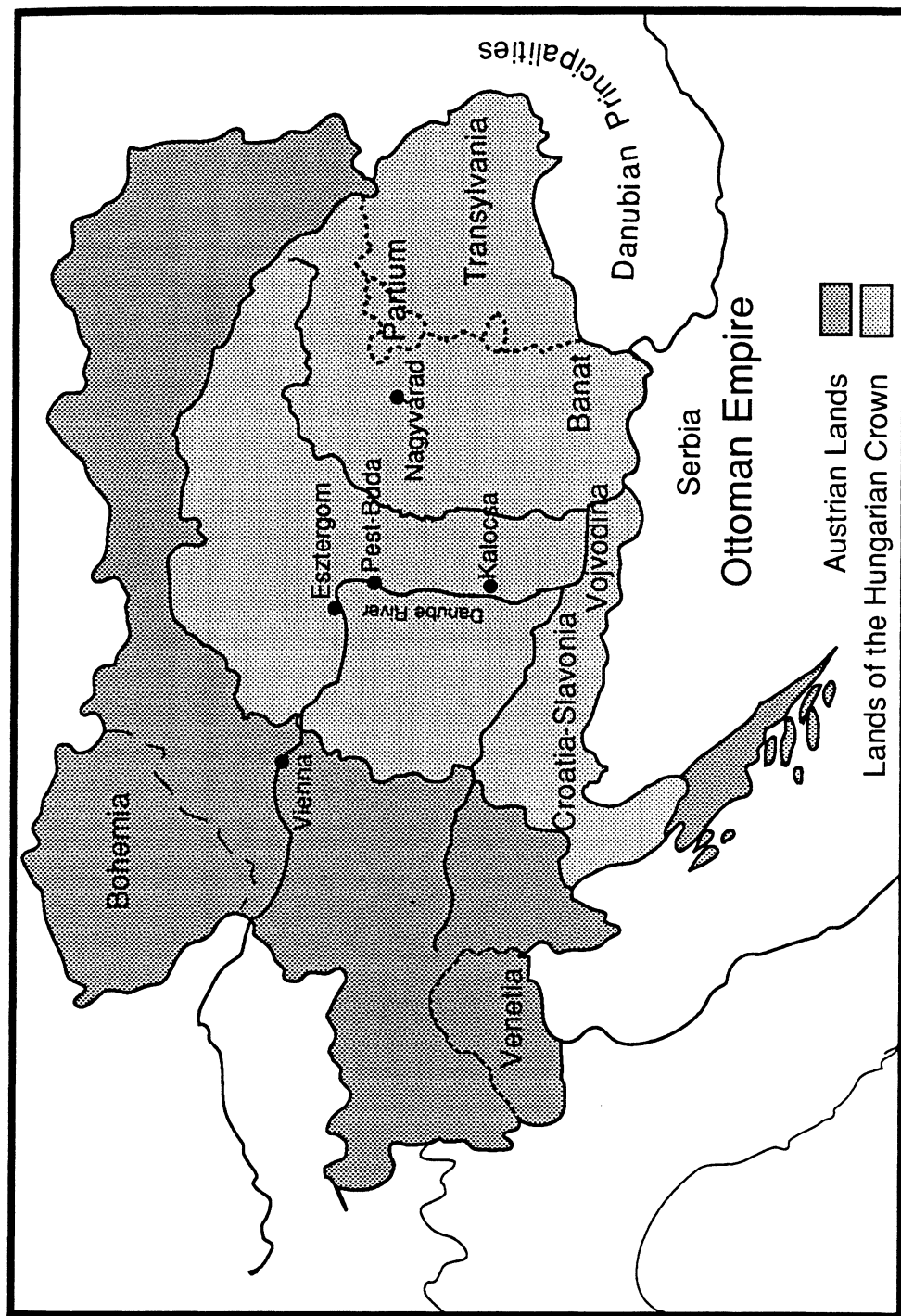
58. Carl Göllner, "Betrachtungen zum fortschrittlichen Denken der Siebenbürger Sachsen im 19. Jahrhundert," Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde 1 (1959), 43-4.

direction of imperial expenditures through a parliament. The implications of such liberal and financial motives and those of German nationalists and bureaucrats coincided to a large degree. For the German nationalists, alleged German cultural superiority and the contest for leadership in Germany were arguments for a liberal constitutional regime. The centralist bureaucrats believed in the progressive, civilizing role of the Austrian civil service and the dangers to the dynasty and the state posed by the national movements, especially that of the Hungarians.

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#### The Rise of Schmerling

The financial and bureaucratic arguments for centralism were serious ones for Franz Joseph, but balanced to a large degree by his dislike of the liberals. He had also by this time made a permanent commitment to constitutional restoration in Hungary, indeed toward dualism, by the Diploma, which was designated a "permanent and irrevocable fundamental state law." He felt special confidence in Count Szécsen, who thus became the most influential member of the Council of Ministers at the end of 1860. Szécsen's collaboration in the decision to dismiss Goluchowski and in the choice of his successor was therefore of great importance. Szécsen was a dynastic conservative and Hungarian patriot who believed that sufficient concessions must be made to the liberals to break the momentum of the more radical elements who really endangered the throne. One such concession to Hungary achieved through



## The Austrian Empire in the 1860s

Szécsen's influence was the cession of the Banat and the partium to Hungary on December 27, an action opposed by both  
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the centralists and the Romanians.

Szécsen contributed to the choice of the German Schmerling as Goluchowski's successor. The choice did not indicate that the Emperor had abandoned the Hungarians, but was a desperate response to a contradictory situation that Szécsen also recognized. Szécsen realized that Austrian public opinion and that of the financiers required the appointment of some sort of liberal as Minister of State. Anton von Schmerling had elements in his past to satisfy all the influential factions in Vienna during the crisis of late 1860. His oppositional role in the 1840s, leadership in 1848 and his principled resignation from the office of Minister of Justice in 1851 attracted the liberals. German nationalists recalled his speeches in favor of German unity as speaker of the Frankfurt Assembly in 1848-49. Centralists noted that Schmerling was a moderate, law and order liberal who used the troops at his disposal in Frankfurt to quell disorders there in 1848. For Szécsen and the Old Conservatives, Schmerling had a mildly favorable reputation because of his denunciation of excessive Austrian brutality in the suppression of the Hungarians after 1849. They also hoped, quite mistakenly, that Schmerling's liberalism would

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59. Mocioni had called on September 27 for the maintenance of the Banat's separateness. Verhandlungen, II, 110-3.

dampen the opposition of the liberals in Hungary.

A single passage in the Diploma provided a wedge for Austrian subversion of the new dualism. It stated the emperor's commitment to "the equality of our subjects before the law...[and] the independence of officeholding from estate and birth."<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the emperor's letter on Transylvania to Rechberg of October 20 (the Transylvanian Court Chancellor had not yet been appointed) stated the peasant emancipation and the establishment of equal civil rights had made necessary a revision of the Transylvanian constitution.<sup>62</sup> Austrian statesmen who were legally excluded after October 20 from authority over the lands subject to the Hungarian and Transylvanian Court Chancelleries would on occasion justify their intervention in Hungarian and Transylvanian affairs by these passages. In doing so they would be continuing the Austrian practice of championing some nationalities in order to counter Hungarian influence. This mentality was evident in the remark by Plener in the Council of Ministers in February, 1861 that if there was a choice between further concessions to Hungary and to the nationalities,<sup>63</sup> Austria should choose the latter.

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60. Writing from an Austrian perspective, Redlich argued that the decisive factor in the fall of Goluchowski and the appointment of Schmerling was the insistence of Plener on the necessity of establishing a government responsible to a parliament. Austrian public opinion regarded Schmerling as the indispensable minister in such a regime. Redlich, I, pt. 1, 680-90.

61. Redlich I, pt. 2, 228.

62. The text of the letter is in Deák Ferencz beszédei, II, 283-4.

63. Redlich I, pt. 1, 757.

The Transylvanian Romanian leadership had sent a delegation to Vienna to petition the court for equal political rights. They also called for the appointment of a Romanian as Transylvanian Court Chancellor, or at least of more Romanian high officials. Rechberg and Plener urged considerate treatment of the Romanians' demands because of the "annexationist agitation" in the Danubian Principalities.<sup>64</sup> There is no evidence that the delegation influenced the appointment of Schmerling as Goluchowski's replacement. The delegation did achieve two positive results: a small contingent of Romanians was appointed to the Court Chancellery and the Gubernium, and the court granted the Romanians' request for permission to hold a conference in January. The granting of permission was controversial. It was apparently granted orally by Schmerling. The new Transylvanian Court Chancellor, Baron Ferenc Kemény, claimed such an action by Schmerling was illegal since Transylvania was now subordinate to his own authority and not that of Schmerling.<sup>65</sup>

Contrary to the Old Conservatives' expectation,

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64. In the Council of Ministers session of December 17, 1860, cited by Lydia Larcher, Die Rumänen Siebenbürgens in der Frühzeit Kaiser Franz Josephs I. (1860-1865) (Diss. Vienna, 1944), 20-2 and Albert Berzeviczy, Az abszolútizmus kora Magyarországon 1849-1865, III (Budapest: Franklin, 1932), 152.

65. The Transylvanian Locumtenency [chief absolutist administrative body; Statthalterei, helytartóság] had previously been subordinate to the Ministry of Interior, which was now a component of the Ministry of State. Schmerling implicitly recognized the new relationship on February 12 when he forwarded the resolution of the two presidents of the Romanian conference, which had been sent to himself, to Kemény. MOL, D228. 1861/90.

Schmerling quickly established himself as the leading figure in the Council of Ministers. Pressed by the financial problem, Franz Joseph could not remain indifferent to Schmerling's popularity with the Viennese middle class and central bureaucracy. Developments in Hungary were partly responsible for his ascendancy, as the Conservatives' misjudgement of public opinion there became increasingly evident. The conference of notables in Esztergom under the chairmanship of Cardinal Scitovszky on December 17-20 declared in favor of the electoral law of 1848 for the Hungarian Diet rather than that of 1608 which had been declared on October 20.<sup>66</sup> It became clear that the prospective diet would reject the October Diploma after the reestablished county assemblies issued declarations in favor of the laws of 1848.

Conditions in Hungary seemed to confirm Schmerling's belief that the Diploma erred in surrendering too much central power,<sup>67</sup> yet he insisted that it must be upheld. Most frustrating for Schmerling was the Diploma's administrative dualism. Was there still a central government for the internal affairs of the empire? The credit situation continued to demand concessions to the liberal middle class in the form of public control over expenditures, ie. a parliament.<sup>68</sup> The solution Schmerling proposed was to

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66. Walter, 206.

67. Ibid., 199-202; Redlich, I, pt. 1, 711.

68. Plener recalled in 1901: "Man hat lange andere Gründe für den raschen Übergang Österreichs vom Oktoberdiplom zum Februarpatent gesucht. Tatsächlich waren dafür nur



expand the Reichsrat into a true imperial parliament with 353 members and much broader powers. Deputies to the Reichsrat would be selected by the restored diets of the crown lands. Such a central parliament was an even stronger limitation of Hungarian independence than the Diploma, but the Conservatives recognized the need for dramatic action. The size and powers of the new parliament, they hoped, would "impress" the Hungarian liberals on ideological grounds and cause them to moderate their opposition and negotiate with the government. Hence the Conservatives acceded to the passage of the new Reichsrat statute as part of the new imperial "constitution" or February Patent.<sup>69</sup> But in view of Hungarian public opinion and the fact that Hungary and Transylvania, with 85 and 26 seats, would be in a permanent minority in the Reichsrat, the Hungarian Chancellor Vay refused to sign the Patent when it was promulgated in February 26.

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#### The Quasi-Dualist Regime in Vienna

The Diploma restored most important aspects of the historic constitution of Transylvania. The Patent, in addition, assigned a vital imperial function, the sending of

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staatsfinanzielle Gründe massgebend."-- Malfèr, "Einleitung", in POM, V,3, xi. Deák's despondent letter to his brother-in-law after his unsuccessful meeting with Franz Joseph on December 24 confirmed the desperateness of the empire's difficulties. The financial problem, he wrote, was perhaps the most difficult: "Az óriási terheket, akár együtt kezeljük azokat, akár megosztjuk, nem leszünk képesek elbírní... Az adosságokból pedig ki nem fogunk bújhatni, még akkor sem, ha a birodalomtól elszaknánk.." (Deák Ferencz beszédei, II, 305-6).

69. Redlich I, pt. 1, 764-7.

deputies to the Reichrat, to the provincial diets. The political struggle arising from the restoration of the constitution and the preparations for the Transylvanian diet must be viewed in the light of the important political institutions. These were of three kinds: the central or court institutions in Vienna, the provincial government in Kolozsvar, and the autonomous administration of the Hungarian, Szekler, Saxon and Romanian counties and districts. The remainder of this chapter will discuss the central government in Vienna.

The center of the system was, of course, the Emperor. Franz Joseph, like other autocrats, was convinced of his duty to maintain his personal authority to the maximum degree; but he felt even more strongly his dynastic duty to maintain the European power and prestige of his monarchy. The central meaning of the "Austrian state and imperial problem" lies in the series of reluctant but coldly calculated concessions of his personal power by the emperor in order to preserve his stature in Europe. Beyond these basic principles, he was indifferent to political ideas. His major concessions-- the reestablishment of the Prime Ministership in August, 1859, the convocation of the expanded Reichsrat in June, 1860, the October Diploma and the restoration of Hungarian autonomy, the appointment of the "liberal" Schmerling and of Prime Minister Archduke Rainer, and the "constitution" of the February Patent in 1861-- all impinged upon adamantly expressed requisites of his imperial

prerogative, and each was accompanied by a declaration that no further concessions would be made. Similarly, the emperor was able to dismiss his most devoted agents with what struck some observers as a shameful lack of sentiment,<sup>70</sup> but also stubbornly uphold his own reluctant concessions in the conviction of their necessity. Thus despite himself he voluntarily became a sort of constitutional monarch.

Franz Joseph sought to respect both his compromise with the Hungarian Old Conservatives and with the Austrian moderate liberals of Schmerling. These compromises were to a considerable extent contradictory, and hence neither side was satisfied with the result. The goal of unified leadership through the Council of Ministers, expressed in 1859, became elusive. The party of Schmerling and his allies was numerically dominant in the Council of Ministers, but many important measures concerning Hungary and Transylvania were not decided there, but only ratified. In difficult questions the emperor resorted to smaller consultations or "Ministerial Conferences": with the Hungarian ministers to decide on a policy opposed by the centralist ministers, or with a core of trusted centralist ministers when indiscretions by the ministers made a more intimate consultation on diplomatic,<sup>71</sup> military or Hungarian matters desirable.

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70. The sudden dismissal of General Gyulay in 1859, Schmerling in July, 1865 and the disgrace of General Lajos Benedek after the Battle of Königgrätz a year later are prime examples.

71. Rumpler, 70-1.

The Emperor's ambivalence meant that, in spite of his ultimate authority and chairmanship of most Council of Ministers sessions, the party allignments on the Council of Ministers were very important. Schmerling's allies were centralists by conviction and, in most cases, by virtue of the organs they headed which also enjoyed or could claim jurisdiction in the Hungarian lands. Only Plener, for reasons already noted, advocated ministerial responsibility in the liberal sense, but both he and Schmerling took a more conciliatory position than the emperor toward the Reichsrat concerning the responsibility of the ministers toward that  
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body.

The members of Schmerling's coalition in the Council of Ministers were those people to whom Romanian and Saxon lobbyists in Vienna appealed for support. The financial and military administration of the Hungarian lands were subordinated directly to Plener's ministry and to the War Ministry of Count Degenfeld, and not to the Chancelleries. Between April, 1861 and April, 1862, these two ministries imposed the billeting of troops for the collection of delinquent  
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taxes in the Hungarian lands. The Hungarian ministers agreed to the measure reluctantly, although recognizing its fiscal necessity, and strongly favored its termination a  
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year later. The army was the most consistently central-

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72. Ibid., 66-9.

73. The procedure was known as military execution. It entailed the peaceful quartering of troops on the property of a debtor until the debt was paid.

74. Military execution provoked vehement Hungarian com-

istic body of the Habsburg administration, and hence the object of special dislike among the Hungarians of Transylvania. The police in Hungary and Transylvania were technically subordinate to the Chancelleries, but reported to the Minister of Police, Baron Károly Mecséry. Mecséry referred to police reports in his statements in the Council of Ministers in support of centralist policies.<sup>75</sup> The Emperor's "narrower conference" for sensitive matters consisted of Rechberg, Schmerling, often Degenfeld and Mecséry,<sup>76</sup> and occasionally Plener.

A further ally of Schmerling in the Council of Ministers and potential support for the Romanians and Saxons was the President of the State Council [Staatsrat], Baron Thaddäus Peithner von Lichtenfels. Though not a voting member of the Council of Ministers, he was Schmerling's most assertive and consistent ally in his centralist course there and in the upper house of the Reichsrat. Lichtenfels was also the former teacher of the emperor, on whom he exercised a personal influence for many years.<sup>77</sup> The State Council was

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plaints in the summer of 1861, but was a dramatic success during a period of financial crisis. Degenfeld proposed its termination because of the harmful effect on military morale and because the measure had achieved its goal. Stefan Malfèr, "Steuerverweigerung und Militärexekution in Ungarn, 1860-1862," Österreichische Osthefte, 24 (1982), 326-7.

75. Oszkár Sashegyi, Az abszolútizmuskori levéltár (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1965), 384, 397; Trócsányi, 648-55. Mecséry supported the call for Mikó's dismissal in the discussion of November 17, 1861 citing "einige auf dem polizeilichen Gebiete ihm zugekommene Daten." POM, V,3, 31.

76. Rumpler, 70-1.

77. Redlich, II (Leipzig: Der neue Geist-Verlang, 1926), 297, 306; Walter Rogge, II Österreich von Világos bis zur Gegenwart (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1872), 100-1.

created on February 17, 1861 as a central advisory council  
neither superior nor subordinate to the Council of Minis-  
78  
ters. The intrusive potential of the State Council,

with its prescribed function of advising the Council of  
Ministers on legislation for the entire empire, disturbed  
79  
the Hungarian ministers. Several councillors of the

State Council were members from the Hungarian lands, in-  
80  
cluding the Transylvanian Baron Karl von Geringer.

Lichtenfels and the State Council prepared many memoranda  
for Schmerling on Hungarian affairs and presented them in  
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the Council of Ministers.

Most of the other German ministers tended to side with  
Schmerling on the Hungarian issues, but took a less active  
interest and lacked any jurisdictional competence in that

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78. The Vienna Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv uses the  
title jüngerer Staatsrat to distinguish the body from the  
more powerful Staatsrat that had existed from 1742 to 1801  
and 1808 to 1848.

79. The Council of Ministers acceded to a request by  
Szécsen that a passage concerning the nationalities be  
dropped from the Staatsrat Reichsrat statute "weil man  
darauf den Anspruch würde stützen wollen, sämtliche Nation-  
alitäten im Staatsrate repräsentiert zu sehen." POM, V, 1,  
79 (February 17, 1861).

80. Geringer was born in Hermannstadt and his mother was  
a Saxon; Irmgard Martius, Grossösterreich und die  
Siebenbürger Sachsen 1848-1859 (München: Verlag des  
Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1957), 31. Szabad, "Az  
önkényuralom kora," 454, states somewhat imprecisely that he  
was Saxon. After the Revolution he served as royal commis-  
sioner in Transylvania and Governor of Hungary in 1851-2.  
For the full membership of the State Council, see POM V, 1,  
219 (March 23, 1861).

81. Redlich, II, 306-7. Rogge exaggerates the influence  
of the State Council, however, when he writes: "Also wieder  
eine Centralbehörde für das ganze Reich...Diese Körperschaft  
sollte die letzten Spuren des Dualismus erwischen, die noch  
von der Wiederherstellung der ungarischen Verfassung übrig-  
geblieben waren." (II, 107).

part of the empire. Schmerling sought to strengthen his own position by insisting that officials forward legislative proposals to the emperor only through the Prime Minister. 82

The emperor acceded to this demand through his edict of February 4. 83 The appointment of Archduke Rainer as the new Prime Minister two days later further strengthened Schmerling's hand, as the Archduke was a centralist, President of the Reichsrat and known as a moderate liberal. 84

Rainer never had the power or independence of a West European Prime Minister and could have no real conflict of interest with Franz Joseph. But he was a determined champion of the edict of February 4. By his memorandum of April 9, he helped convince Franz Joseph to reject Vay's request for regular direct access to the emperor. Unless the Hungarian Chancellor retained the same status in terms of access as the other ministers, Rainer argued, he would in effect constitute the head of an independent Hungarian government. 85

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82. Schmerling's appeal, in the session of January 11, 1861, was possibly prompted by the hasty reunification of the Banat with Hungary on December 27 after Szécsen's personal intervention with the emperor; Rumpler, 60-1.

83. Redlich, II, 22.

84. Rainer was a 33-year-old cousin of the emperor, son of the Viceroy of Lombardy, and a strong opponent of the Concordat with varied scientific and commercial interests. Helmut Andics, Das österreichische Jahrhundert. Die Donaumonarchie 1804-1900 (Wien: Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, 1980), 169; Alois Hudal, Die österreichische Vatikanbotschaft, 1806-1918 (München: Pohl & Co., 1952), 169.

85. Redlich, II, 21-4; Walter, 206. Helmut Rumpler rejects the conventional view of Rainer's appointment as strengthening the influence of Schmerling: he argues that Franz Joseph sought to undermine his previous liberal concessions and ease the negotiations with Hungary by gaining a

The position of Baron Vay and of the Minister without portfolio, Count Szécsen, was ambiguous. They owed their status to their ability to convince Franz Joseph that the restoration of limited Hungarian autonomy would preserve the empire from disorder and separatist movements. Soon the unpopularity of the Old Conservatives' principles, and their inability to confine the opposition in Hungary within the desired limits, became evident. Consequently the prestige and influence of the Old Conservatives at court eroded. They desperately sought to recover it by a series of reluctant concessions to the demands of the opposition in Hungary in the hope of reasserting their influence there and stabilizing the system. The dominant noble politicians in Hungary demanded a restoration of not only the old constitution but also of the laws of 1848, and the Old Conservatives began to concede even these. After the negative response to the Diploma in Hungary, the Old Conservatives in the Esztergom conference called for a responsible ministry, territorial integrity, and the liberal electoral law of 1848.<sup>86</sup> At the court, a part of these demands was almost immediately put into effect, with the reunion of the Banat and Vojvodina to Hungary and the specification of the 1848 electoral law for the election of county officials. The

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Prime Minister whose familial subordination made him more pliable (61-3). But Schmerling's differences with Rechberg suggest the retention of the latter as Prime Minister would have served these purposes better. A conservative informant complained that Rainer was "politisch ganz ergeben" vis à vis Schmerling. Redlich, II, 761.

86. Redlich, II, 39-41, 724-5.



demands of the new county assemblies in January, 1861, and even more of the Hungarian diet when it convened on April 6, demonstrated that these concessions had not achieved their goal. The Hungarian ministers' further concessions, namely the restoration of Hungarian civil and criminal law and, as noted above, of a Hungarian government, were prevented by the resistance of the other ministers.<sup>87</sup>

The Hungarian opposition accepted the leadership of Ferenc Deák in the diet; it adopted his address to Franz Joseph insisting on the integrity of the 1848 laws, but accepting the rights of the monarch as Hungarian king and the possibility of legislative revision of the 1848 laws. The Hungarian ministers formally agreed with their German colleagues that the address was unacceptable; as the architects of the Diploma, they could not do otherwise. Yet they sought to prevent the proposed dissolution of the diet and the constitution through negotiation. In the tradition of the Hungarian estates' horsetrading with the Crown in past centuries, called Transaktionspolitik, they hoped to find a middle ground for the two sides to agree on.<sup>88</sup> The German ministers rejected this tactic; Vay and Szécsen resigned on July 18, and the Hungarian diet was dissolved on August 22. Military courts took over many of the functions of the recently restored Hungarian courts, and Lieutenant-General

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87. Ibid., II, 21-39.

88. According to Szécsen's later account, Deák was ready to accept the reply to the address which the Hungarian ministers formulated, but it was rejected by the German ministers.

Móric Pálffy became the Governor of Hungary.

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### The Provisorium in Vienna and Hungary

The new regime in Hungary, the Provisorium, was a sort of victory for Schmerling and his allies, but at the cost of a setback for the liberal goals that had kept Schmerling in opposition during most of the previous decade. The attempt to lure the Hungarians into the Reichsrat had failed at least temporarily; the only constitutional basis on which the Reichsrat could now debate the imperial budget was by the invocation of the February Patent's emergency clause.<sup>89</sup> The Hungarian ministers and officials who now took office were either bureaucrats of the Bach school or soldiers. Austrian liberals feared a restoration of the intensely Catholic regime of the 1850s. Catholic conservatism<sup>90</sup> enjoyed rising influence.

Resolutions of the Hungarian counties denounced the dissolution of the diet and the collection of taxes by military execution, and called for the resignation of all Hungarian officials. Cardinal Scitovszky, as prefect of

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89. On December 17 Schmerling declared the acceptance by the Council of Ministers (on June 5, 1861) of P.13 of the February Patent as the basis for the Reichsrat's approval of the budget. Stefan Malfèr writes: "Damit war aber der Widerspruch nicht beseitigt, der in der Tatsache lag, dass der eine Teil des Reiches konstitutionell, der andere absolutistisch regiert wurde." Malfèr, "Einleitung," in POM V,2, xx.

90. Rogge, II, 155-62. The debate on Austrian religious matters in the Council of Ministers on January 3 and March 6, 1862 revealed the liberal-conservative division there: POM V,3, 157-8, 306-8.

Esztergom county, took the lead in encouraging such measures, to the great annoyance of Franz Joseph, who called<sup>91</sup> him to Vienna in order to reprimand him.

The new Hungarian ministers were Count Antal Forgách, former Governor of Bohemia, as Hungarian Court Chancellor and Count Móric Esterházy as the Minister without Portfolio.

Esterházy was the Austrian ambassador to the Holy See during the negotiations leading to the Concordat, and arch-conservative and fervent Catholic who enjoyed close ties with the Emperor and the Nuncio. They accepted the dissolution of the municipalities in Hungary and the restoration of absolutism after November 5, 1861. Yet the unity of the newly constituted Council of Ministers was short-lived. The decisive reason seems to have been the emperor's continued conviction of the necessity of compromise with Hungary. Count Esterházy quickly became his closest advisor, and both he and Count Forgách spoke regularly in the Council of<sup>92</sup> Ministers of "protecting Hungarian sensibilities."

Forgách sought, in effect, to extend the Conservatives' Transaktionspolitik. His differences with Schmerling were well-known, being carried out publicly in the newspapers<sup>93</sup> sponsored by the two men. The Austrian public was even more aware of the heightening rivalry between Schmerling and

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91. Redlich, II, 183-5; Rogge, II, 151-2.

92. Redlich, II, 294-305.

93. Redlich identified these papers as the Botschafter of Vienna and the Sürgöny of Pest. Berzeviczy ("Schmerling és Forgách harca," Bécsi Magyar Történeti Intézet Évkönyve 3 (1933), 379) identifies Donauzeitung as Schmerling's paper.

Rechberg, which surfaced in reports about their differences in the Council of Ministers and in debates between their press organs as well.<sup>94</sup> These differences arose from three sources. Rechberg sympathized with the aristocratic opponents of Schmerling's policy in the Reichsrat for social and ideological reasons. Second, the Foreign Minister favored a more cautious, conciliatory policy than Schmerling on the German question. Finally, Rechberg was more moderate than Schmerling on the Hungarian question due to his concern for Austria's image in Europe as well as his aristocratic rapport with the Old Conservatives.<sup>95</sup>

The Emperor's policies in Hungary gave evidence of his continued confidence in the Old Conservatives. Forgách scored a victory in November, 1862 when Franz Joseph accepted his proposal to grant a partial amnesty to political prisoners in Hungary without Schmerling's prior knowledge.<sup>96</sup> A major crisis arose in the Council of Ministers in succeeding months over the compromise proposal formulated

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94. Redlich, II, 760-3. The paper of the Austrian conservatives was the Vaterland (Redlich, II, 152).

95. Ibid., II, 742-3, 766-7; Somogyi, 24-9; Jelavich, Habsburg, 93-4. Rechberg was the President of the German Federal Diet in Frankfurt from 1855 to 1859. He favored collaboration with Prussia, and advocated the Austro-Prussian alliance on the Schleswig-Holstein question. Schmerling was a German nationalist, and persuaded Franz Joseph to lead the unsuccessful attempt to defeat Prussia at the Frankfurt Congress of Princes in August, 1863, despite Rechberg's objections. In his unpublished memoir, Schmerling claimed that disunity among the ministers on foreign and internal policy, not his own mistaken conceptions, was the chief cause of his regime's failure.-- Somogyi, 25-6.

96. Redlich, II, 309.

by the chief judge of Hungary, the Judex Curiae (Országbíró) Count György Apponyi. Apponyi was the last Old Conservative to retain high office. Schmerling argued in January, 1862 that Apponyi's "remaining in office is impossible, since his presence in Pest is a [source of] continuous agitation against the government." Yet the emperor declined to dismiss him.<sup>97</sup> Apponyi presented his reform plan, which in many respects resembled the eventual settlement of 1867, to the emperor at the beginning of 1863.<sup>98</sup> Forgách, Esterházy and Rechberg favored the plan, but it was defeated due to the adamant opposition of Schmerling and his allies.<sup>99</sup>

Franz Joseph vetoed the plan when Schmerling threatened to resign. He was unprepared to rule Cisleithania without him. The emperor's government had, in a sense, become a constitutional one: however strongly they clashed, the two parties must remain in the Council of Ministers because of their "legitimate" responsibility for their respective halves of the monarchy. Through the decision of Franz Joseph, however, Schmerling's faction attained a stronger position in

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97. POM, V,3, 236 (January 1, 1862); *ibid.*, Malfer, "Einleitung," xliii-xliv.

98. The complete plan is in Deák Ferencz beszédei, III, 223-35.

99. Schmerling wrote in his memoirs that Archduke Albrecht convinced the emperor to reject the plan. (Somogyi, 24) There is no other evidence to support the claim, but it is plausible. The Archduke had served as Civil and Military Governor of Hungary from 1851 to 1860, and two years later played a key role in the compromise negotiations with the Hungarians; László Csorba, "Újabb adatok a kiegyezés előkészítésének történetéhez," A magyar polgári átalakulás kérdései (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi kara, 1984), 428-9.

Hungary and even, for a time, in foreign affairs. On Schmerling's insistence, Apponyi was also dismissed, on March 30, 1863.

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The casualties and devastation of the revolution and civil war of 1848-49 left a legacy of heightened national animosity in Transylvania. This was particularly the case for Hungarians, whose political class was almost unanimous in resenting the Austrian absolutist regime that followed. The abortive Hungarian revolt in Transylvania in 1852 convinced the opposition that external assistance was necessary for a successful insurrection. Austrian diplomatic isolation facilitated the rebels' search for allies: the France of Napoleon III and, ironically, the newly united Danubian Principalities of Prince Cuza offered their support. Hence Hungarian nationalism in Transylvania gained a volatile and contradictory connection with the new Romanian state south of the Carpathians.

The Austrian military and financial debacle in 1859 accentuated the importance of both the Hungarian opposition and of the Austrian advocates of liberal constitutionalism. Hungarian conservatives-- aristocrats and Catholic prelates-- won the accession of the Emperor to a federalist reform of the empire. In less than a year, the pendulum swung half the way back: in February, 1861 Anton von Schmerling secured the Emperor's approval of a centralist

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100. Redlich, II, 309-29.

constitution, the February Patent. The pendulum swing was partial because the newly restored provincial autonomy remained, and because of the concomitant administrative dualism at the highest level. Franz Joseph himself was ambivalent on the question of dualism, and hence often allowed considerable play for the contending Austrian centralists and Hungarian conservatives in the Council of Ministers. Austrian centralists won one partial victory in late 1861 and another in 1863.

The defeat of the Old Conservatives' compromise plan in 1863 brought with it also the victory, after a struggle that began in 1861, of Schmerling's views on the Transylvanian question. Transylvania was also the subject of animated debate in the sessions of February and March, 1863. The debate involved several key issues: the constitutional restoration in Transylvania, provincial autonomy and the role assigned to Transylvania by the February Patent, and domestic and international aspects of the nationality question. The political and social movements in Transylvania functioned, in a sense, as a reflection of the liberal-aristocratic antithesis in the Council of Ministers.

## CHAPTER TWO

### TRANSYLVANIAN ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

The constitutional independence of Transylvania signified by the restoration of the Transylvanian Court Chancellery in October, 1860 was a logical consequence of the Old Conservatives' stated intention to restore the "historical-political individualities" and the pre-1848 constitutions. Yet they had hoped, for reasons of nationalist ideology, that the union of Hungary and Transylvania in 1848 would be respected,<sup>1</sup> and the popular clamor for the laws of 1848 and the union in particular caused them to favor the union even more strongly. Baron Kemény and Count Imre Mikó agreed only on December 9-10 to accept the positions of Transylvanian Court Chancellor and Governor, but with the stipulation<sup>2</sup> that their positions were "provisional."

The German ministers opposed the union because they felt this would inordinately increase the influence of the Hungarians in the still unsettled affairs of the empire.<sup>3</sup> They also contested the validity of the union law of 1848 because of the irregular circumstances of its approval by the king and its promulgation in 1848.<sup>4</sup> They recalled from

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1. Apponyi and Szécsen had argued in the Council of Ministers on October 16, 1860 for the union, but were opposed by Rechberg and Plener, and the emperor declared that the Transylvanian Court Chancellery would be restored. Redlich, I, 617.

2. Trócsányi, 645.

3. Statement by Schmerling in POM, V,2, 217 (July 19, 1861).

4. Schmerling in *ibid.*, 464 (October 29, 1861).



1848-49 that the national minorities could provide a useful counterweight to the Hungarian claims, and hence they emphasized the known opposition of the Romanian and Saxon politicians to the union.<sup>5</sup>

The Old Conservatives themselves recognized already before October 20 that more care must be taken than in 1848 to respect the desires of the nationalities in Transylvania.<sup>6</sup> The emperor expanded on this idea in his letter to Rechberg of October 20, to which we have already referred. The peasant emancipation and the establishment of equal civil rights, he wrote, had made necessary a revision of the Transylvanian constitution. For this reason he called for the convocation of a conference "of various nationalities, religions, and classes" to discuss a reform of the electoral law which

corresponds to the needs of the formerly privileged nations, religions, and classes, but also the interests of those nations, religions and classes hitherto excluded from these political rights.<sup>7</sup>

Kemeny thus undertook the "provisional" direction of the Transylvanian Court Chancellery under very different circumstances than his predecessors.

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5. Mecséry in POM, V,1, 197 (March 21, 1861).

6. Emil Dessewffy's September, 1860 project for a federalist coup included an imperial edict to the Governor of Transylvania which recognized that the feudal privileges of the former landowners had been abolished. In light of the new circumstances, the Governor should establish a committee on the composition of the Transylvanian diet which would consider "all justified and sober desires of the various nationalities." Deák Ferencz beszédei, II, 249.

7. Ibid., II, 283-4.

## The Court Chancellery

The Chancellery had been the leading political and administrative body for Transylvania since the final years of the seventeenth century.<sup>8</sup> Like the Hungarian Court Chancellery and the Croatian-Illyrian Court Dikasterium/Chancellery, it had its seat in Vienna. Of the three offices, only the Hungarian Court Chancellor bore the title of minister and was hence entitled to regular, voting participation in the Council of Ministers. The Transylvanian Court Chancellor appeared in the Council of Ministers, like the others who were not regular members, only as a Referent, i.e. to provide information on matters within his competence.<sup>9</sup>

Like the ministers, the Court Chancellor presented policy initiatives for higher approval through the presentation of alleruntertänigste Vorträge an den Kaiser via Archduke Rainer to the Emperor. Each Vortrag included an Entwurf zum allerhöchsten Entschluss for the emperor's approval, and the Emperor determined whether consultation in the Council or a Conference of Ministers was desirable before granting approval to the Entschluss.

The Chancellor directed the composition of Vorträge and of correspondence with coordinate and subordinate officials

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8. Kutschera, 195.

9. Mecséry and Szécsen successfully argued that Kemény should not be required to sign the February Patent since he was the head of a mere "administrative jurisdiction", and not a Landesminister. POM, V,1, 102 (February 24, 1861).

through a staff of approximately fifty men. The most important of these were the four councillors; Kemény appointed a Hungarian Roman Catholic, Hungarian Protestant, a Saxon Lutheran and a Romanian Greek Catholic as councillors.<sup>10</sup>

Each councillor had responsibility for certain categories of affairs, and handled the relevant correspondence with the assistance of a secretary and Konzipist of his own nationality and religion.<sup>11</sup> All matters, except sensitive ones disposed of by the Chancellor with his personal secretary, were presented orally and voted on by the councillors in daily sessions of several hours presided over by the Chancellor. In the case of disagreement on a major Entwurf for the emperor, the minority position was recorded in a separate Entwurf called the Separatvotum.<sup>12</sup>

The Chancellery began operation on December 28, 1860.<sup>13</sup> On January 4 and 7 Schmerling and Lasser, the director of his legal section (the former Ministry of Justice) informed the Transylvanian Governor and Court of Appeals of their subordination henceforth to the Chancellery. Count Mikó accepted his appointment as constitutional Governor, but the

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10. G. Hofrat, H. udvari tanácsos. Prior to 1848 there were six. The Romanians considered the number of Romanians appointed by Kemeny inadequate.

11. G. Hofsekretár, H. udvari titkár; G. Hofkonzipist, H. udvari fogalmazó.

12. The description of Chancellery procedures, which were established in the late eighteenth century, is from Trócsányi, 43-51. The Chancellery had 52 regular (not honorary) officials in 1863: Erdély Nagy-Fejedelemség tiszti névtára az 1864-dik évre (Kolozsvártt: A róm. kath. lyceum könyvnyomdájában, 1864), 15-16.

13. The Hungarian Court Chancellery had begun operation already on November 4-- Sashegyi, 373.

restoration of the historical form of Gubernium and counties was heavily debated in the Council of Ministers in January due to the rebelliousness of the restored counties in Hungary and the growing influence of Schmerling. Kemény's proposal was accepted, however, for the constitutional administration to take the place of the absolutist organs on April 15, 1861.<sup>14</sup> One of Kemény's first important tasks as Chancellor was the convocation of the consultative conference specified in the imperial rescript to Rechberg on October 20.

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#### The Conference in Gyulafehérvár

The Transylvanian administration was going through a confused transition period. Baron Ferenc Kemény, the President of the diet in Kolozsvár in 1848, was appointed as Chancellor on November 29, 1860.<sup>15</sup> Count Imre Mikó occupied his old office as head of the restored Transylvanian Gubernium or provincial government and began to organize his staff in Kolozsvár. Yet the absolutist Civil and Military Governor of Transylvania, Prince Friedrich von Liechtenstein, continued in office in Hermannstadt until April 21.<sup>16</sup>

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14. Ibid., 391-2. Sashegyi implies that the decision to restore the Transylvanian constitution had not yet been made when the matter came before the Council of Ministers, but Trócsányi, 645-6 shows this was not the case.

15. His official appointment came only on December 9; Rolf Kutschera, Landtag und Gubernium in Siebenbürgen 1688-1869 (Koln: Bohlau, 1985), 191, 197; Zsolt Trócsányi, Erdélyi kormányhatósági levéltárak (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1973), 645; Berzeviczy, Az abszolutizmus kora, III, 152.

16. During the transition period Kemény and Liechtenstein exchanged sporadic reports about general political and ad-

The task of the conference in Gyulafehérvár was the representation of all nationalities and classes at the forthcoming Transylvanian diet, i.e. the electoral law under which the deputies would be selected. Kemény's own views and the persons he chose to call to the conference assured that broader constitutional questions, rather than the electoral law, would dominate the discussion. Kemény sought to delay the conference, but finally convened it on February 11-12, 1861.<sup>17</sup> The forty participants included 24 Hungarians, eight Saxons and eight Romanians-- the latter, of course, far below their percentage of the population.<sup>18</sup> A contemporary categorized eighteen of the Hungarian participants as conservatives, and only six as liberals. Hungarian liberals resented this imbalance and the unconstitutional role assigned to the conference. But like the conservatives in Hungary, those at the conference abandoned their own principles and supported the liberal demands. All the Hungarians supported the position presented in the speeches by the host Roman Catholic Bishop, Lajos Haynald, and the liberal leader, Count Domokos Teleki: that the laws of 1848 must be maintained, and that among these was the union of Hungary and Transylvania which made a new

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ministrative matters; MOL, D228, 1860-61. Trócsányi's description of the transition (645-6) does not discuss the hierarchical relationship of Schmerling and Kemény.

17. Sashegyi, 392.

18. The Hungarians were equally divided among three constitutional-administrative categories: the noble counties, the Hungarian towns and the Szekler districts-- Szász, "Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben," 1477.

Transylvanian diet both superfluous and illegal.

The views of the Saxons were less unanimous. Most of the Saxon political meetings in December and January supported the view expressed in the press of Hermannstadt, welcoming the Diploma and reserving approval of the union<sup>19</sup> for the upcoming diet.<sup>20</sup> Some of the borderland Saxon communities, however, favored the Hungarian party and the union, like Bistritz<sup>21</sup> and Schässburg.<sup>22</sup> The Kronstädter Zeitung (Kronstadt) spoke out in favor of the union, but wondered, after the publication of the names of those who had been invited to the conference, whether it was worthwhile for the Saxons to go since Kemény had guaranteed<sup>23</sup> a majority for himself in advance. Three of the Saxons at the conference supported the motion of Haynald and Teleki. The five others supported the motion presented by Konrad Schmidt, which had been adopted by the Saxon national conference in Hermannstadt.<sup>24</sup> Like the Hermannstädter

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19. The Hermannstädter Zeitung wrote on January 3, 1861 that the union was "verhängnisvoll für den Bestand der Rechte der Sächsischen Nation und ihrer deutschen Nationalität." p. 2.

20. I.e. on the border of the Fundus Regius (see below).

21. The Mayor of Bistritz visited Mikó with a delegation on January 7 and spoke in favor of the union. Hermannstädter Zeitung No. 6, January 24, 1861, p. 59.

22. The town sent a 48-man delegation to Baron Eötvös in January with a declaration in favor of the union. Kronstädter Zeitung No. 6, January 11, 1861, p. 34.

23. Kronstädter Zeitung No. 3, pp. 17-18; No. 14, January 25, 1861, p. 85.

24. Ioan Pușcariu, Notițe despre întâmplările contemporane (Sibiu: Tiparul tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1913), 55; according to Ürmössy, only three supported Schmidt's motion, while the other two were absent from the final vote; Ürmössy, I, 264.

Zeitung, Schmidt accepted the validity of the 1848 laws, including the union, but argued that the union must be ratified by the diet. He offered a detailed proposal for the electoral law with an electoral base of 8 fl. and extra weight given to urban interests. Saxons, Hungarians and Romanians would be represented almost equally in the diet. 25

The Romanian view, like that of the Hungarians, was nearly unanimous by the time of the conference. The Romanian press welcomed the Diploma, and called for improved Romanian representation. This was the burden of two petitions sent to the emperor, the first on November 7 requesting permission to hold a national conference. 26 A Romanian delegation of twenty spent the second half of November and most of December, 1860 in Vienna, meeting with Goluchowski, Kemeny, and Lasser, and presenting their petition to Franz Joseph on December 10. Permission to hold the conference was granted and several Romanians were appointed to the Chancellery during the delegation's stay in Vienna, 27 though less than had been hoped.

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25. Ürmössy, I, 259-60.

26. Josan, "Documente inedite privind lupta națională a românilor din Transilvania în anul 1861," Apulum 17 (1979), 540; Simion Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei (1863-63) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1979) 38.

27. Șuluțiu led the delegation to Vienna and remained there until December 23. AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG 1861/123 contains the complete record of the delegation's work, including Șuluțiu's correspondence with Șaguna. Contemporaries reported that Schmerling had granted permission for the conference orally, though Mikó and Kemény claimed he had no authority to grant such permission (Ürmössy I, 250-2). While it is true that Schmerling sought to encourage the Romanian movement against the Hungarians, the question of legality was spurious since the Hungarians and Saxons were

The Romanian conference was held in Hermannstadt between January 13 and 16, n.s. The conference of 150 Transylvanian Romanians declared its adherence to the six points of the militant second Blaj Assembly of May, 1848, especially concerning the maintenance of Transylvanian autonomy, and approved a memorandum to Franz Joseph protesting against the ethnic balance of the personnel appointed by Kemény to his Chancellery. A Romanian National Committee was also appointed, headed by Șaguna and Greek Catholic Metropolitan Șuluțiu.<sup>28</sup> The conference devised an electoral law based on a minimum tax assessment of 5 fl.,<sup>29</sup> and elected a twenty-man permanent national committee. Șuluțiu presented this program at the Gyulafehérvár conference,<sup>30</sup> and it was supported by all eight Romanian members.

Kemeny presented all three motions at the Ministers' Conference on March 14.<sup>31</sup> He stated that all three were

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holding meetings without special permission.

28. Simion Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei (1863-1864) (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1979), 38-9.

29. Josan, "Documente," 540-1; Pușcariu, 52-4; Ürmössy I, 251-4; Miklós Mester, Az autonóm Erdély és a román nemzetiségi követelések az 1863/64. évi nagyszombati országgyűlésen (Budapest: Dunántúl Pécsi Egyetemi Könyvkiadó és Nyomda R.-T. Pécssett, 1936), 71-81. In addition to the official participants there were also several hundred spectators, including Romanian law students who gave vocal support to the nationalists. (Mester, op.cit., 74).

30. Only seven Romanians were present at the conference. The Greek Catholic dean of Gyulafehérvár, Augustin Pop, was excluded at the insistence of Șuluțiu because of his unionist views expressed at the national conference. (Ioan Pușcariu, 55). Both Pop and Court Secretary designate Dimitrie Moldovan were publicly recorded as having been "absent due to illness", Pop on the original protocol and Moldovan when he later published a speech as the Romanians' eighth participant. On Pop's relationship with Șuluțiu and the nationalists, see Chapter VIII.

31. An unofficial protocol of the conference was



unacceptable: the Hungarian one because the emperor had ruled that the union must be deliberated upon by both the Hungarian and Transylvanian diets,<sup>32</sup> the Saxon and Romanian ones because they supplanted the electoral law valid in 1847, which had been passed by the diet of 1791. He added that the Romanian electoral proposal

would not only be based on democratic principles, which are incompatible with monarchic ones, but was against all reason and would certainly lead to the collapse of any empire ruled by a monarch.<sup>33</sup>

He proposed instead a much more moderate electoral law, with a tax base of 8 fl. 40 kr. The debate in the Conference of Ministers on March 14 and 21 ended in stalemate. The question of political representation would remain the most explosive one in Transylvania. Schmerling and Lichtenfels found Kemény's proposal completely inadequate from the standpoint of the nationalities. Lasser complained that Kemény was consulting directly with the emperor concerning Transylvania, circumventing the Council of Ministers.<sup>34</sup>

The controversy in the press over the speeches at Gyulafehérvár and the rumors of discord within the Council of Ministers itself were an inauspicious preliminary to the restoration of the constitutional administration. Two other

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published in German: Die Karlsburger Beratungen (Hermannstadt, 1861), and the speeches were published and commented on in most of the Transylvanian newspapers.

32. Yet at the conference Kemény and Mikó were among those who voted for this motion.

33. Redlich, II, 242.

34. Ibid., II, 241-6. Persistent, unconfirmed press reports maintained that Schmerling and other German ministers threatened their resignation at this time; Redlich, II, 247; Rogge, II, 105.

factors also complicated the transition. While Mikó began the organization of the Gubernium at the end of December and of the counties in succeeding weeks, the Locumtenency led by Civil and Military Governor Prince Friedrich von Liechtenstein continued in office until April 21. Liechtenstein was openly hostile to the Hungarian movement. Furthermore, the restored counties in Hungary began in January to enact resolutions demanding the restoration of all the laws of 1848 and calling on the population to withhold the payment of taxes. Such conditions made the task of Governor Mikó all the more difficult.<sup>35</sup>

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#### The Constitutional Restoration

The Gubernium, like the constitutional Locumtenential Council in Hungary,<sup>36</sup> was organized on the principle of the dicasterium. Its function was to carry out directives from the Chancellery, but by its composition it exercised a constitutional control function on the policies that were set for it.<sup>37</sup> The representation of the Transylvanian

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35. Kutschera, 191.

36. L. Consilium Regium Locumteniale Hungaricum, G. Statthalterei, H. Helytartótanács.

37. The dicasteria were introduced in the Habsburg lands beginning in the fifteenth century to replace purely elective corporative bodies. With time they behaved increasingly like mere arms of the absolutist state, though the rationale of representation remained. See the articles "kormány székek (dicasteriumok)," and "helytartótanács," 33-5, Magyar történeti fogalomgyűjtemény, I (Eger: Heves Megyei Levéltár, 1980), 33-5, 488-9.. This explains Redlich's remark that, through the dissolution of the corporative Locumtenential Council of Hungary in November, 1861, the Governor of Hungary became a "dictator". Redlich, II, 94-5, 185.

nationalities and religions among the Chancellery councillors in the 1860s was an ad hoc, exceptional arrangement; their representation and that of various Transylvanian institutions among the sixteen Gubernium councillors was specified in several laws of 1791. These required the greatest possible equality of the three dominant nations and four religions among the councillors, and also ex officio councillor status for the Roman Catholic Bishop, the President of the diet, the director of the provincial financial authority (whose office was subordinate to the Ministry of Finance), and the elected leader of the Saxons, the Comes<sup>38</sup>

The Gubernium had two sections, a political and a judicial senate, each headed by a Vice President. The judicial senate was the Transylvanian supreme court.

Procedure in the Gubernium was similar to that in the Chancellery. The chief categories of officials were the same: councillors, secretaries and Konzipisten. Each councillor had responsibility for certain categories of affairs, and presented these with his proposal for action at the general sessions. These took place several times a week for four hours in the morning. The rule that the Governor

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38. J.H. Benigni von Mildenberg, Handbuch der Statistik und Geographie des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen (Hermannstadt: W.H. Thierry's Buchhandlung, 1837), 97; Kutschera, 157. The diet was supposed to nominate candidates for Chancellor, Governor and Gubernium councillors. From among these the emperor would appoint the respective officials, who were then subject to confirmation by the Diet. In the absence of a diet, the appointed Chancellor and Governor after 1861 were only "Presidents" of the Chancellery and the Gubernium, and their confirmation was never brought before the diet in 1863-64. (Benigni, 96-7, 105.)

voted last on the councillors' proposals reinforced the decision-making authority of the councillors, but the Governor was required to present both the minority and majority opinions to the Chancellery.<sup>39</sup>

Whatever the desire of the conservatives Kemény and Mikó to return to the system of 1848, circumstances made this impossible. First among these circumstances was the pressure at the court to appoint more Romanians. In his letter of December 21 to Kemény, the emperor repeated his instructions of October 20 to Rechberg concerning Transylvania. He called for the reappointment of the officials of 1848 on the provincial level, but also the appointment of members of the other nationalities wherever those of 1848 were unavailable. He also stipulated that churches and schools could determine their own official language, and participants in local assemblies choose the language of deliberation.<sup>40</sup> Mikó's eleven nominees as councillors on December 28, 1860 included three Romanians who had served in the absolutist Locumtenency of Transylvania.<sup>41</sup> An equal number of subordinate Romanian officials were assigned to the Romanian councillors, and a proportionate number of Romanians appointed at the court of appeals (Erdélyi királyi ítélő tábla) in Marosvásárhely.<sup>42</sup>

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39. Trócsányi, 156-72; Kutschera, 164-5.

40. Okmánytár Erdély legújabb jogtörténetéhez, Ed. József Sándor (Kolozsvár: Stein János, 1865), 117-19.

41. Retegan, "Lupta națională a românilor în jurisdicțiunile Transilvaniei în anul 1861," Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj 13 (1970), 162.

42. Ioan Pușcariu, 53. He indicates four Romanian

A press report of April 29, 1861 stated that the 92 officials of the Gubernium included 78 Hungarians, seven Saxons<sup>43</sup> and seven Romanians. Naturally both Romanian and Saxon politicians were dissatisfied with these proportions.

Changes in the regional administration also gave the Romanians a somewhat better position than before 1848. The four military border regiments had been dissolved in 1851, and the local administration integrated with that of the surrounding area. For the Szeklers of the two regiments in Csík and Háromszék districts, the dissolution satisfied an old grievance, since the predominantly free Szekler population resented the imposition of military discipline and the<sup>44</sup> limitations on the choice of education and profession. The Romanian perception of the border regiment system was much more positive, since many serfs gained greater economic<sup>45</sup> autonomy and educational opportunities. Given the material and cultural progress the Romanians of the border regiments had made, their reintegration into Hungarian or Saxon-administered areas was problematic. A Romanian was placed at the head of the newly created district of Năsăud,

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councillors, but the fourth, along with a Romanian Vice President, were only appointed during the Provisorium.

43. Kronstadter Zeitung No. 34 of 1861 (April 28), p. 342.

44. Samu Benkő, "Székely diákok harca a Habsburg-hatalommal a tanulás jogáért," in Sorsformáló értelem, 183-205. Disagreeing with the Szekler tradition that the entire nation resented the institution of the border regiments, Kutschera states that the local Szekler nobility spearheaded the violent resistance to militarization and "instigated" resistance by the peasantry. Kutschera, 227, 230.

45. László Makkai, Magyar-román közös múlt (Budapest: Teleki Pál Tudományos Intézet, 1948), 168-9.

which corresponded to the former Second Romanian Border  
46

Regiment. On the territory of the former First Romanian  
Border Regiment, a Romanian became the head of the district  
of Făgăraș, and the restored counties of Hunyad and Felső-  
Fehér including other parts of the former first regiment  
also received Romanian chiefs. The latter two, however,  
were noblemen bearing only moderate sympathy for the

47  
Romanian national movement. Major parts of the first  
regiment fell under Saxon administration. Romanian lay and  
church leaders protested the cession of the four counties of  
the Partium to Hungary between December, 1860 and March,  
1861. These counties had Romanian majorities and a large  
Romanian nobility which could have increased the socio-  
economic weight of the Romanian population in

48  
Transylvania.

Kemény adopted the same principle for the restoration  
of the local administration as for that of the Gubernium:  
the officials of 1848 should be reappointed wherever possi-  
ble, and the others with some consideration for the  
Romanians. In practice, the prefects (H. főispán,  
főkirálybíró, főkapitány) of the restored Hungarian and  
Romanian counties and districts were, with only the excep-

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46. Kemény opposed the establishment of the new district,  
"weil der Bezirk zu klein ausfallen würde und die Sympathien  
seiner ausschliessend romanischen Bewohner sich dem Nachbar-  
lande zuwenden durften." POM, V,1, 198-9 (March 21, 1861),  
198-9.

47. Ioan Pușcariu, 56; Retegan, "Lupta națională a  
românilor," 163.

48. Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 189.

tions mentioned above, Hungarian noblemen from a few outstanding families:

Table 1: Transylvanian Prefects Outside the Fundus Regius in 1861

<u>Hungarian counties</u>	<u>főispán</u>
Alsó-Fehér	György Pogány
Belső-Szolnok	Farkas Véér
Doboka	Baron Dániel Bánffy
Felső-Fehér	Augustin Láday
Hunyad	Baron Ferenc Nopcsa
Kolozs	Count Ferenc Béldi
Küküllő	Count Farkas Bethlen
Torda	Baron György Kemény
<u>Romanian districts</u>	<u>főkapitány</u>
Făgăraș	Ioan Lemeni-Bran
Năsăud	Alexandru Bohățel
<u>Szekler districts</u>	<u>főkirálybíró</u>
Aranyos	Gergely Béldi
Csík	Antal Mikó
Háromszék	Count Dénes Kálnoky
Maros	Count Mihály Toldalaghi
Udvarhely	Gábor Dániel (49

As in the past, the prefects were royal appointees. Under them was the heart of the constitutional administration: the county and district general congregations. The chief task of the congregations was to elect the local administration, so the method of their selection was crucial. Kemény and Mikó had contradictory goals: to preserve the land from Hungarian radicalism by coopting the most responsible, moderate leaders, preserve Hungarian rule, but also placate at least some of the Romanians. Kemény's solution, which we will discuss at length, was perhaps the most prudent one, but it satisfied nobody, least of all the Romanians.

An Austrian historian writing at the beginning of this century remarked that the restoration of the constitutional

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49. The Saxons restored to the administration were, of course, generally not noblemen.

administration in Transylvania was a crucial mistake from the standpoint of the proclaimed equality of nationalities and the centralist February Patent.<sup>50</sup> As we have seen, the centralists in Vienna were aware of the problem, but the Council of Ministers itself was divided. To understand the significance of the restoration and how the ruling nationalities were able to prevail despite inferior numbers, we need to consider how the administration was supposed to operate-- legalism was a dominant trait of Hungarian politics-- and the Transylvanian society that was subject to it.

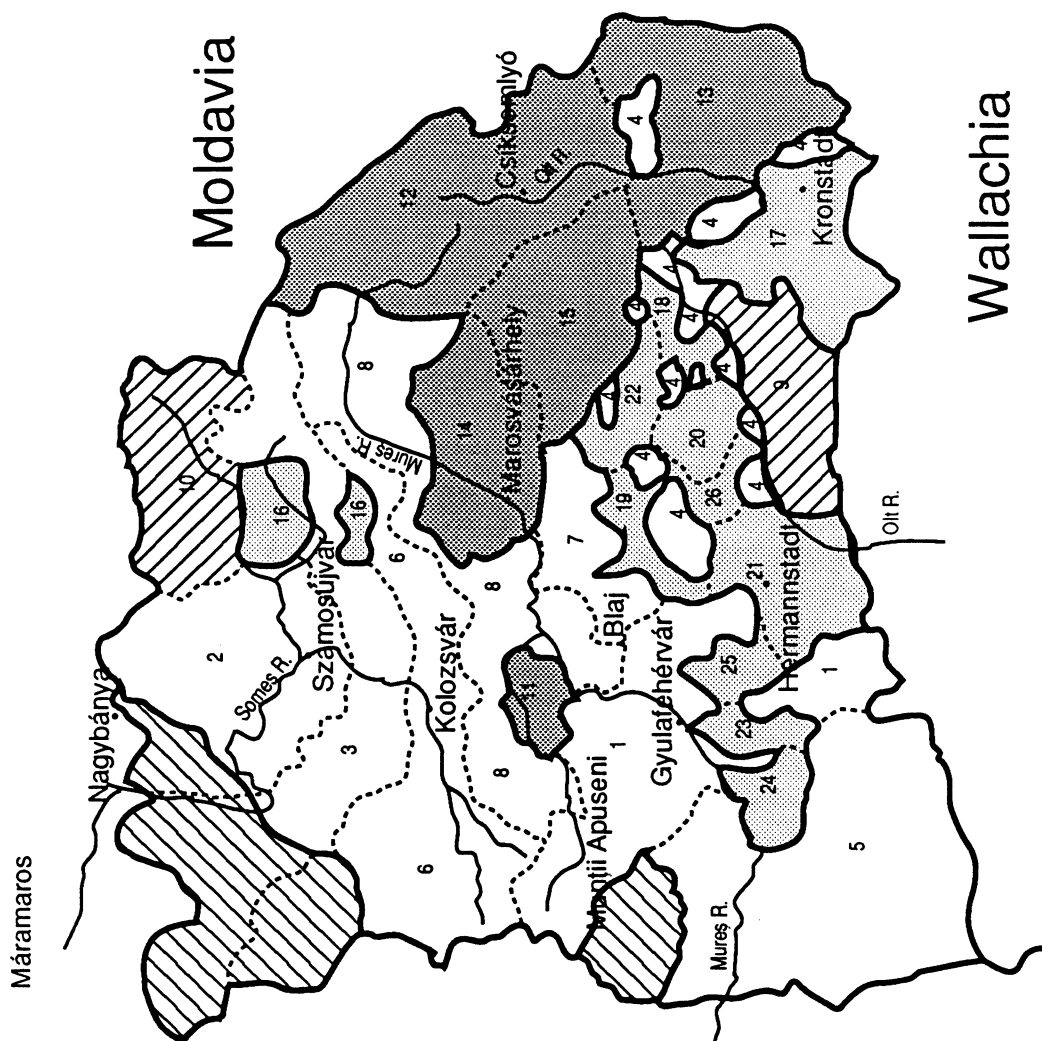
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#### Administration in the Noble Counties and Szekler Districts

The Transylvanian jurisdictions which existed for several hundred years up to 1849, and then from 1861 until the partial reorganization in 1876, can be grouped into three areas according to their location and administrative system: the Hungarian or noble counties (H. magyar nemes vármegyék, magyarok földje; G. Adelskomitaten), the Szekler region (H. székely székek, székelyföld), and the Saxon region (L. Fundus regius, G. sächsische Stühle und Distrikte, Königsboden, H. Királyföld). The organization of the two Romanian districts most closely resembled that of the counties, hence they are usually grouped with them. There were three Transylvanian censuses

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50. Heinrich Friedjung, cited by Ioan Lupaș, "Vieața și faptele mitropolitului Andreiu Șaguna," in Mitropolitul Andreiu baron de Șaguna (Sibiu: Editura consistoriului mitropolitan, 1909), 241.





- Hungarian Counties
- Romanian Districts
- Fundus Regius
- Szekler Region
- Partium

- | Hungarian Counties | Romanian Districts | Fundus Regius    |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1. Alsó-Fehér      | 9. Fágáras         | 16. Bistritz     |
| 2. Belső-Szolnok   | 10. Násáud         | 17. Kronstadt    |
| 3. Doboka          |                    | 18. Repts        |
| 4. Felső-Fehér     | Szekler Districts  | 19. Mediasch     |
| 5. Hunyad          | 11. Aranyos        | 20. Grossschenk  |
| 6. Kolozs          | 12. Csík           | 21. Hermannstadt |
| 7. Küllő           | 13. Háromszék      | 22. Schässburg   |
| 8. Torda           | 14. Maros          | 23. Mühlbach     |
|                    | 15. Udvarhely      | 24. Broos        |
|                    |                    | 25. Reussmarkt   |
|                    |                    | 26. Leschkirch   |

# Transylvania in the 1860s

between 1850 and 1869, taken under very different circumstances:

Table 2: Transylvanian Population by Historic Regions

	1850		1857		1869
Noble counties	1,040,000	57%	1,167,145	59.1%	1,292,512
Szekler region	370,000	20	400,534	20.2	427,642
Fundus Regius	410,000	23	406,521	20.5	381,573
	1,820,000		1,974,530		2,101,727 (51

The chief official of the county or district, whom we shall designate as the prefect, was appointed by the monarch<sup>52</sup> on the recommendation of the Gubernium. The prefect corresponded with the Gubernium and presided over the General<sup>53</sup> Congregation. The congregation<sup>54</sup> of each county or district traditionally met four times a year, and was composed of all noblemen owning noble (nontaxable) land in that county or district. It nominated three candidates<sup>54</sup> for middle-level administrative and judicial offices (subordinate to the prefect) for appointment by the Gubernium, elected the

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51. Wagner, Historisch-statistisches Ortsnamenbuch für Siebenbürgen (Köln: Böhlau, 1977), 163, 299, 351; Farkas Bethlen, "Adatok Erdély viszonyairól különös tekintettel az adózási rendszerre," Statisztikai és nemzetgazdasági közlemények 4 (1867), 13; Keleti, 69. Wagner and Bethlen recalculated the 1850 and 1857 censuses to correspond to the historical jurisdictions restored after 1861, and both subtracted the Partium since it was rejoined to Hungary in 1860-61.

52. L. supremus comes, H. főispán, G. Obergespan, R. comite suprem; [in the districts] L. supremus capitaneus, H. főkapitány, G. Oberkapitán, R. căpitanul suprem. István Deák prefers the English term lord lieutenant for főispán; Deák, 15. Unlike in two counties of Hungary, the office of prefect never accrued to certain church offices in Transylvania.

53. L. congregatio generalis sive marchalis; H. ösgyűlés, községi gyűlés; G. Markalkongration.

54. One from each of the Hungarian received religions: Roman Catholic, Reformed, and Unitarian.

others from the three nominees of the prefect for each position, and elected deputies to the diet. The congregation also supervised officials, debated matters of public concern, answered public and private petitions, and settled legal cases brought before it. The chief assistants of the prefect were the county judge and the prefect's deputy, who had certain police responsibilities. Each county or district was divided into several subdistricts, each headed by a szolgabíró who acted as head of the local nobility,<sup>55</sup> judge and agent of the prefect.

The administration of the Szekler districts was very similar to that of the noble counties and districts. The same regulations applied to the functions of the congregations and officials.<sup>56</sup> Two important distinctions were in the election of officials (there were no preliminary nominations by the prefect), and also in the broader eligibility for participation in the congregation, which included primarily landed noblemen but also representatives of the free

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55. County judge = L. supremus judex nobilium, H. főbíró, G. Oberrichter; deputy prefect or subdistrict chief = L. vice comes, H. alispán, G. Vicegespan; subdistrict = L. processus, H. járás; L. vicejudex nobilium, H. szolgabíró, G. Stuhlsrichter, Unterrichter, R. jude cercual. Benigni, 104-9; Joseph A. von Grimm, Die politische Verwaltung in Siebenbürgen (Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhaussen, 1856), 8-9; Kutschera, 30-2; Deák, 15-16. The diet of 1791 established regular procedures for the congregations and officials; see Die wichtigsten Verfassungsgrundgesetze des Grossfürstenthums Siebenbürgen von altersher bis in die Neuzeit (Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhaussen, 1861), 140-5."

56. The prefect was called the főkirálybíró (L. supremus judex regius), his three to four deputies were alkirálybírák (L. vicejudex regius), and the counterpart of the szolgabíró was the dulló.

peasantry. The different social structure helps to account for these administrative differences.

Historians have described the counties and Szekler districts as "autonomous noble republics." What was the size of the politically active population? Baritiu wrote that five percent of the Transylvanian population was noble, which was an even higher percentage of the population than in Poland. Others cite a figure of 30,000 noble families,<sup>58</sup> which gives a slightly higher percentage. Calculations of their number were rare, since the landed nobility was not on the tax rolls and voting at the congregations was not formally recorded. The only Transylvanian census to record all the noble families, that of 1767, gave the following figures for landed (untaxed) noble, sandalled or poor noble (taxed), serf and free peasant families:

Table 3: Categories of Taxed Population in 1767

	Transylvania		Noble counties (without <u>Partium</u> )		Szekler region	
Landed	4,586	1.8%	2,764	2.1%	1,072	2.9%
Sandalled	12,811	5.0	6,202	4.7	3,335	9.0
Serfs: [a]	107,945	41.8	73,425	55.5	10,722	28.9
[b]	45,495	17.6	53,705	25.5	3,655	9.9
Free peasants	55,247	21.4	2,814	2.1	16,565	44.7 59

[a = jobbágy; b = zsellér; see footnote 69.]

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57. Kutschera, 35-6.

58. Victor Cheresteşiu, A balázsfalvi nemzeti gyűlés 1848. május 15-17. (Bukarest: Politikai kiadó, 1967), 67, 120. Benigni, 38-9, indicated 29,510 noble families (20,639 tax-free, 8449 sandalled, 422 Boerones) for 1772, for a total of 9.8% of all families. Csetri and Imreh fail to mention the tabulation of 1772. The sandalled nobleman (H. bocskoros nemes, kisnemes, R. nemes) was a poor nobleman who resembled the free peasant in all but judicial status.

59. Elek Csetri and István Imreh, Erdély változó társadalma 1767-1821 (Bukarest: Kritérium, 1980), 26, 31, 36.

Only landed noblemen were entitled to membership in the congregations in the noble counties and districts. If their number increased at the same rate as the rest of the Transylvanian population, there would have been an average of five to six hundred landed noblemen in each county and district in 1861.<sup>60</sup> The sandalled nobility were eligible for all offices except those at the highest level.<sup>61</sup> Calculations of noble electors in Transylvania in 1863 (57,303 in the noble counties and districts and the Szekler region) and 1869 (74,134 in all Transylvania) dropped the distinction between the landed and sandalled nobility.<sup>62</sup> Upon comparison with the earlier proportions it appears that these figures are too high; they do, however, confirm the evidence in the 1767 census that noblemen were a much higher percentage of the population in the Szekler region.<sup>63</sup>

The controversial Szekler military nobility accounts in large part for the regional variations and for the greater political participation in the Szekler region. Popular tradition maintained that all three classes of Szeklers were noblemen and free, though this was clearly no longer the

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60. The population of Transylvania doubled in the century before 1861; Béla Király, Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century. The Decline of Enlightened Despotism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), 242.

61. Laws 12, 17, and 18 of 1791, in Die wichtigsten Verfassungsgesetze, 142-3, 147-9.

62. Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 257, 262-3.

63. With a multiplier of five for each family, the data would produce a noble population between thirteen and eighteen percent of the total for all Transylvania.

case after the sixteenth century. Many Szeklers claimed that the civil equality granted by the revolution of 1848 extended political rights to all three orders. The rebelliousness of the lowest class, originally directed against the upper orders, became increasingly anti-Austrian, especially in the revolution in Háromszék in 1848-49. Political tradition and the larger size of the congregations thus made the Szekler districts more difficult for the government to manage in the 1860s.

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### Peasant Society

We can distinguish political life in the counties and in the Szekler region not only by the size of the nobility and the composition of the congregations, but by the size of the formerly unfree population. Where it existed, serfdom left a bitter legacy of poverty and class resentment. The percentage of the taxed population of the noble counties and districts that were serfs rose to 92.4% in 1821; in 1848, 85.5% of the 1537 villages there were inhabited by serfs and

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64. The Austrian census in the Szekler region in 1552 reported "A székelyek mind nemesek és adómentesek, bár három rendre oszlanok..." Orbán, A székelyföld leírása I (Pest: Rath Mór, 1868), 6.

65. Despite the limitation of the assemblies' membership to 100 in the Instruction of March 26 (see Chapter III) the assembly in Székelyudvarhely in 1861 had 1200 members--Orbán I, 14. But Orbán exaggerated when he wrote that "a székely köztársasági szervezet szellemében és politikai értelemben teljesen egyenlő volt minden székely, s tömegesen megjelenhetett a közügyek felett intézkedő ösgyűléseken vagy marchálisokon.", loc cit. Most lower class Szeklers were in fact excluded from politics.

feudally dependent miners. The polarization between the Hungarian aristocracy and the enserfed, mostly Romanian population was strongest here. In the Szekler region, the serfs (39% in 1821) were increasing and the free peasantry declining, but free peasants still constituted nearly one-third of the population, and three-quarters of the 435 vil-  
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lages were partly dependent and partly free.

The chief positive achievement of the revolution in  
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Transylvania had been the peasant emancipation. As in Hungary, the emancipation law of June 6, 1848 abolished  
69  
corvee on the landlord's land by urbarial serfs, i.e. those serfs who paid taxes to the state on their land. These serfs gained unencumbered title to their land. Allodial serfs, those whose lands had not been taxed and hence remained the legal property of the landlords, were

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66. Csetri and Imreh, 31; Ákos Egyed, "Adatok az erdélyi falu társadalmi tipológiájához," in Egyed, Falu város civilizáció. Tanulmányok a jobbágyszabadítás és a kapitalizmus történetéből Erdélyben 1848-1914 (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1981), 18. Egyed lists the counties and Fágáraş separately (half of the 65 villages in Fágáraş were of the mixed dependent/free variety), and they were combined here. The district of Năsăud had not yet been formed. In 1847, 80% of the taxed population in the noble counties were serfs-- Miskolczy, "Erdély a reformkorban (1830-1848)," in Erdély története, III, 1213.

67. Csetri and Imreh, 36; Egyed, loc.cit. Here 56% of the taxpayers were serfs in 1847-- Miskolczy, loc.cit.

68. Arguing with certain unnamed Romanian historians, Ákos Egyed insists that this, and not the nationality conflict, was the most lasting consequence of the revolution in Transylvania. Egyed, "A jobbágyszabadság megszüntetése 1848-ban Erdélyben," in Egyed, 68-9.

69. There were two categories of serfs: full or proper serfs (H. jobbágy, R. iobagi) and cottagers (G. Häusler, H. zsellérek, R. jeleri) depending on the amount of land they farmed and paid taxes on.

excluded from the emancipation. Nearly two-thirds of the Transylvanian peasantry, or 173,781 serf holdings, were emancipated in this way. The freed serfs accounted for 84% of the feudally dependent population in Transylvania in 1848.<sup>70</sup> This represented a much higher percentage of the peasantry than in Hungary, where other types of holdings were more common.<sup>71</sup> The remission of corvee was also a more dramatic gain than in Hungary, since twice or three times as much corvee was required for an equal amount of land in Transylvania.<sup>72</sup>

The lack of a previous regulation of peasant and landlord holdings (urbarium), as existed in Hungary, and the tremendous regional variation in types of landholding added to the difficulty of the emancipation in Transylvania. Some of the freed serfs were able to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in the Revolution to successfully lay claim to even more land than they had possessed before. Many of these gains were called into question once order had been restored. The village forests and pastures, formerly shared with the landlord, and the allodial serfs' lands were also under dispute. The imperial patents of 1853 for Hungary and 1854 for Transylvania stipulated the conditions for the

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70. Josef A. von Grimm, Das Urbarialwesen in Siebenbürgen (Wien: Friedrich & Moritz Förster, 1863), 150; Egyed, "A jobbágyrendszer megszüntetése," 96-9; 78% according to Szász, "Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben," 1457. 80% of the disencumbered land became Romanian property.

71. János Varga, Typen und Probleme des bäuerlichen Grundbesitzes in Ungarn 1767-1849 (Budapest: Akademie, 1965), 115-16.

72. Cheresteşiu, A balázsfalvi nemzeti gyűlés, 53.



emancipation of the allodial serfs and sought to resolve the problem of land ownership by establishing urbarial courts which would mediate the claims of the landlords and the freed serfs in each community. Due to the difficulties of documenting ownership in Transylvania, urbarial cases proceeded much more slowly there. In Hungary, land ownership in nearly half the emancipated villages had been regulated by private agreement or by the urbarial courts by 1864. In Transylvania, private agreements were much more unusual and the landlord or peasants requested court procedures in two-thirds of the cases.<sup>73</sup> The Transylvanian courts began operation in 1858, but only actually began to decide cases in 1863, when the political struggle there had reached a crucial stage.<sup>74</sup> By 1870 only 4% of the cases had been resolved.<sup>75</sup> The fact that most of the former serfs were Romanians added to the political volatility of the problem. Some leading Romanian politicians provided their legal services to the peasants. Hungarian historians formerly alleged that the courts were partial to peasant claims, but most now agree that they favored the Hungarian landlords.<sup>76</sup>

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 73. Pál Sándor, "Ergebnisse der Grundbesitzregulierungen in Ungarn im Lichte dreier Quellen," Acta Historica (Budapest) 21 (1975), 430; Iosif Kovács, Desființarea relațiilor feudale în Transilvania (Cluj: Dacia, 1973), 110-12.

74. Kovács, 101.

75. Lajos Für, "Jobbágyföld-- parasztföld," in István Szabó, ed., A parasztság Magyarországon a kapitalizmus korában 1848-1914. Tanulmányok, I (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1972), 140-47.

76. Albert Berzeviczy, Az abszolútizmus kora, II (Budapest: Franklin, 1925), 66 and István Nagy, A mezőgazdaság Magyarországon az abszolútizmus korában, 1849-

Regional variations in landholding exacerbated the land disputes. The disposition of the forests formerly used by the Romanian serfs of the Munții Apuseni and Hunyad county caused considerable unrest in the 1860s. The villagers of the military border regiments were legally free peasants, yet after the regiments were disbanded in 1851<sup>77</sup> many of them lost possession of their lands. In contrast to the mass emancipation in the Hungarian counties, most serfs of the Szekler region lost their land because it was declared to be allodial.<sup>78</sup> Such social grievances provided fertile ground for political agitation in the 1860s. The peasant unrest, the good intentions of the liberal nobility in 1848, and imperial officials all contributed to the passage of the peasant emancipation of 1848 through 1854. Undeniably, the majority of the peasantry benefitted greatly, but vexing social questions remained unresolved.

The emancipation legislation of 1848-54 left many groups of peasants dissatisfied. Many of the freed serfs waited for urban courts to resolve their land claims; Saxons and Romanians disputed the lands of the former border regiments; most explosively, the Romanians of the Muntii

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<sup>1867</sup> (Budapest: Franklin, 1944), 17, maintain the former view, and Rogge, I, 336, and Kovács, 101-23, maintain the latter view.

77. Ioan Pușcariu, 26-7.

78. Egyed, "Vázlatok a jobbágyfelszabadítás és zsellérkérdés történetéről a Székelyföldön (1848-1896)," in Egyed, 102-25. As a result of this as well as general economic backwardness and political disaffection, there was steady Szekler emigration to other regions and countries throughout the second half of the century. See György Bozodi, Székely bánja (1943, 3rd ed.; Budapest: Magvető, 1985), 152-87.

Apuseni found themselves deprived of the forest lands that were very important for their livelihood, and the former szekler serfs on the lands called siculica hereditas (székely örökség) were expropriated because this land was classified as allodial. The dispossessed Szeklers and the Romanian minority in the Szekler region, who were overwhelmingly former serfs, at times made common cause, but they were politically and numerically weak.<sup>79</sup> The social question was more significant in the counties, the former land of serfdom, in the 1860s.

The counties contrast even more strongly with the social structure in the Fundus Regius. To refer to two indices cited for the noble and Szekler regions: more than two-thirds of the taxed family heads in the Fundus Regius in 1821 were free peasants, and fully 84% of the 271 villages in 1848 were of the free peasant type.<sup>80</sup> Only one in 1242 persons in the Fundus Regius was a nobleman, compared to one in 34 in the noble counties and districts and one in seven in the Szekler region.<sup>81</sup> There was a small (15%) serf

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79. In contrast to the noble counties and districts, only one-third of the total population of the Szekler region were serfs. Yet only a small percentage of these were freed in 1848. At least half of those remaining were Szeklers (those on the siculica hereditas), but the remainder were Romanians. Egyed shows that half of the unfreed serfs in the Szekler region were praedalisták (124,9), and according to Orbán (II, 5-7, III, 6, 24-5) these were Romanians or Magyarized Romanians.

80. Csetri and Imreh, 41; Egyed, 18.

81. Göllner, "Reaktion und Vormärz," in Geschichte der Deutschen auf dem Gebiete Rumäniens, I, General ed. Carl Göllner (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1979), 267. His data are from the 1840s.

population in the Fundus Regius, but in most cases their  
collective "landlords" were the cities of Hermannstadt and  
Kronstadt.<sup>82</sup>

We do not possess precise nationality statistics for  
Transylvania in the 1860s.<sup>83</sup> Károly Keleti used the 1869  
census to project the nationality statistics from elementary  
school admissions. His results are as follows:

Table 4: Nationalities in the Three Regions, 1869

	Hungarians %		Romanians %		Germans %		Total	%
A	241,574	18.7	945,443	76.2	64,043	5.0	1,292,512	59.1
B	377,637	88.3	47,776	11.2	2,118	0.5	427,642	20.2
C	30,010	7.9	188,533	49.4	158,128	41.4	381,573	20.5

A= Noble counties; B= Szekler region; C= Fundus Regius

Thus more than four-fifths of the Romanians lived in the  
noble counties and districts, more than three-fifths of the  
Germans lived in the Fundus Regius, and more than half of  
the Hungarians in the Szekler region.<sup>84</sup> The census data of  
the mid-nineteenth century do not permit a correlation of  
nationality with social class.<sup>85</sup> But if one considers that

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82. Csetri and Imreh, 41; Egyed, "Adatok," 18-21.

83. The census of 1850, (in MOL. F551, bundle 2) has  
never been published; excerpts are in Söllner and Bielz. It  
recorded both nationalities and religions, but according to  
the absolutist jurisdictions. The 1857 census, in Országis-  
mei tabellák..., records religions, but not nationalities.  
The same is true for the 1869 census, A magyar szent  
korona..., which at least uses the jurisdictions in effect  
after 1861.

84. Keleti, 72. Using the 1850 census, Miskolczy ("Erdély  
a reformkorban," 1196-7) calculated similar figures for the  
pre-1848 jurisdictions:

	Hungarians		Romanians		Germans		Total
A	159,396	15.2%	781,791	74.5%	49,166	4.7%	1,049,049 57.5%
B	303,975	81.5	54,246	14.5	1,163	0.3	372,912 20.4
C	25,063	6.2	207,810	51.8	141,425	35.2	401,251 22.0
D	488,434	26.8	1,043,847	57.2	191,754	10.5	1,823,222

A= Noble counties; B= Szekler region; C= Fundus regius; D= Total

85. Pál Balogh and Oszkár Jászi performed such calcula-  
tions at the beginning of the twentieth century, but due to

most townsmen and noblemen in the noble counties and districts were Hungarians, it is evident that the the categories of former serfs and Romanians were nearly contiguous in this area. The Szekler region was ethnically homogenous, and most of the former serfs were also Szeklers. The Romanians there were almost all former serfs, many of whom rapidly Magyarized after the emancipation in 1848.

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The Saxon towns were more ethnically heterogeneous than the Hungarian ones. Saxons were represented disproportionately in urban trade. This was true even in the heterogeneous district of Kronstadt, where three-fourths of the 194 registered merchants in 1844 were Romanians, but the majority of workers were members of Saxon rather than

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Romanian guilds. The feudally dependent villages in the districts of Hermannstadt and Kronstadt were similar in ethnic composition to the surrounding countryside, predominantly Romanian but including many Saxons and Hungarians as

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rapid social change in the intervening period their data are of only limited relevance.

86. Orban, I 15, II 5-6, confirmed by Ferencz Kozma, A Székelyföld közgazdasági és közművelődési állapota (Budapest: Franklin, 1879), 76-7, referred to this Magyarization. Balogh wrote that many of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox communities of the Szekler region were exclusively Hungarian-speaking by the end of the nineteenth century; see Chapter VII.

87. Thomas Nögler, "Contribuția sașilor la dezvoltarea economica a Transilvaniei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea și prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in Studii de istorie a naționalităților conlocuitoare din România și a înfrățirii lor cu națiunea română. Naționalitatea germană, II (București: Editura politică, 1981), 102. The Romanian merchants dominated the trade with the Romanian Principalities, which was the source of Kronstadt's wealth.

well. The numerous wealthy rural communities included Romanian ones that could afford to establish generous endowments for the education of village children in prestigious schools and even to buy military exemptions for the vil-

lage. The greater wealth of the Romanians in the Fundus Regius brought them advantages in cultural and political organization, but probably made them more moderate than

those in the counties.

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### Hungarian and Saxon Towns

The towns of the noble counties and Szekler districts were a further distinctive administrative and social category. They were of three types: royal free towns, privileged noble towns, and market towns. They were politically and juridically independent of the counties and districts which surrounded them. Officials were elected by the town citizens, who were a larger percentage of the population than the noblemen in the counties and districts, comprising all married home-owning males, but excluding the workers and servants. They elected the chief official, the

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88. Göllner, "Reaktion und Vormärz," 266.

89. The Romanian village of Satulung in the district of Kronstadt boasted such a school foundation and military exemption.--Retegan, "Contribuții privind organizarea comunității sătenești din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea," Anuarul Institutului de Istoria și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca 19 (1976), 197.

90. This explains in part the elevation of the Romanian merchant "village" (population 6012) of Reșinar to the rank of market town for the 1863 elections, and also the apportionment of two deputies for the surrounding subdistrict (Filialstuhl) of Săliste and Tâlmăciu. All three deputies elected were moderates.

permanent representative assembly, and town representatives  
<sup>91</sup>  
to the diet. The twelve to one hundred members of the  
representative assembly represented the districts of the  
town and areas of economic administration. Its president  
was a sort of ombudsman, who also sat on the town council,  
<sup>92</sup>  
but without voting. The most powerful body was the coun-  
cil. Its members were the mayor and ten councillors elected  
for life, and it acted collectively in much the same way as  
the Gubernium. The election of the centumviri and the  
councillors observed the equality of the three feudal na-  
tions and of those received religions present in the com-  
<sup>93</sup>  
munity.

In 1861 there were in the noble counties and the  
Szekler region five royal free towns, three privileged noble  
towns, and twelve market towns, with an average population  
<sup>94</sup>  
of 4279. The noble towns were founded by noblemen who had  
taken up residence there, while the market towns derived  
their privileges partly from local economic importance,

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91. Mayor= L. judex primarius; H. főbíró; G.  
Oberriichter; assembly= L. electa communitas, centumviratus;  
H. választott közönség, külső tanács, nagytanács.

92. The president was L. orator, H. szónok; the town  
council was L. magistratus, senatus; H. belső tanács,  
kistanács; G. Rat.

93. "Városi önkormányzat," in Magyar történelmi  
fogalomgyűjtemény II, 1000-5; Benigni, 125-30; Kutschera, 37-8;  
Avram Andea, "Organizarea administrativă, dezvoltarea demografică  
și urbanistică," in Ștefan Pascu, ed., Istoria Clujului,  
215-21. Unlike the other sources, Andea states that the  
councillors were elected annually.

94. Totals averaged from Országismeii tabellák Erdély  
nagyfejedelemség népessége viszonyairól, mint melléklet  
politikai felosztásában szükséges változtatások iránti  
törvényjavaslatokhoz [Title of fragment from 1857 census  
publication preserved in the Universitätsbibliothek, Vienna].

partly from the influence of the local landlords who dominated them. Administratively the three categories differed in the names and sizes of the administrative bodies and the degree of aristocratic influence. The free towns elected two deputies each to the diet, the others one each.

The towns of the noble counties and the Szekler districts were important Hungarian political centers, in part due to the liberal proclivities of the middle class and the leadership role of the towns in high culture, but increasingly so because of the Romanian preponderance in the countryside of the noble counties. The towns were only 5.7% of the populations in the counties and Szekler region in 1850, but were overwhelmingly Hungarian. The results of the elections of 1863 would accord the Hungarian towns the symbolic leadership of the Hungarians in the counties which the nobility lost in the elections in the counties themselves.

The administration of the Fundus Regius resembled that of the Hungarian towns. All married, homeownership Saxon males could vote for or be elected one of the fifty to one hundred members of the representative assembly. Replacement members were elected to the assembly from among three candidates put forward by the town council. As in the royal free towns, the assembly was led by an Orator, supervised economic administration, and elected local council members. Councils were elected in the rural localities by all landowning freemen, and they or the village assembly elected the body



of local officials. The autonomy of small rural localities was more extensive than in the noble counties and Szekler region.

Unlike the councils in the Hungarian towns, those of the chief towns in the Saxon districts functioned simultaneously as the supreme body for the entire district.<sup>96</sup> As in the Hungarian town councils, many senators had substantive areas of responsibility or Fachreferate within the city, but in addition many also had responsibility to periodically visit a number of subordinate communities (Stuhl- und Distriktsinspektorate). The senate upheld royal and local regulations in the localities of the district.<sup>97</sup> Each community sent two representatives to the biannual district assembly, and the district seat sent six. This assembly elected the district's two deputies to the diet, and also the chief political and judicial official, mayor or prefect,<sup>98</sup> of the district. For the election of district officials, members of the district seat's assembly were coopted into

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95. Assembly = ausserer Rat; Hundertschaft; Orator = Sprecher, Wortmann; the assembly and senate in the smaller localities were called the Altschaft and the Ortsvorstand or Gemeindeamt. For the above: Kutschera, 46-50.

96. The seat of a Saxon district was the Stuhlvorort or Distriktsvorort. Only seven of the eleven district seats had elected town councils, and six of these had the rank of royal free towns. For these seven towns the Magistrat and Stuhlsamt were the same body.

97. Georg Eduard Müller, Stühle und Distrikte als Unterteilungen der Siebenbürgisch-Deutschen Nationsuniversität (Hermannstadt: Krafft & Drotleff, 1941), 42-3, 67, 232-7.

98. Depending on local usage, the chief official was called the Bürgermeister, Stuhlrichter, Königsrichter, Distriktoberichter, or Distriktrichter. Müller, 196.

the district assembly in sufficient number to equal those from the rest of the district.

A further peculiarity of the district assemblies was that each of the eleven sent two deputies to the annual or biannual assembly or Konflux of the Saxons, commonly referred to as the Universität. Unlike the other two ruling nations of Transylvania, the Saxons also had a chief official of their own, the Comes nationis saxonicae, appointed by the emperor from among three candidates agreed upon by the district assemblies and the Konflux. The Comes nominated three candidates for each senate position for election by the town assemblies, and three for each prefect for election by the district assemblies. The Comes was ex officio member of the Gubernium, and supervised the execution of imperial decrees in the Fundus Regius. The Comes and Konflux together constituted the Nationsuniversität (universitas nationis saxonicae), which in a formal but inconsistently applied sense was subordinate not to the Gubernium, but only to the Emperor.

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The traditional leading organs of administration for Transylvania, the Court Chancellery in Vienna and the Gubernium in Kolozsvár, were reestablished in 1860-61. Both bodies, but especially the Gubernium, were dicasteria,

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99. Kutschera, 41-4; Benigni, 112-21; Müller, passim. The Privilegium Andreanum of 1224, confirmed on several occasions in the seventeenth century, arguably subordinated the Saxons directly to the king.

i.e. composed of officials who were simultaneously representatives of feudal corporations. Romanians were now added to these bodies as de facto representatives of their nation, but in numbers far below their percentage of the population.

Three regions of Transylvania had distinctive administrative forms and population, and each was the domain of one of the three feudal "nations": the noble counties of the Hungarians, the Szekler region, and the Fundus Regius of the Saxons. Hungarians and Szeklers spoke the same Hungarian language, shared the same political consciousness, and possessed a landed noble elite. The noble counties and Szekler region differed in important ways, however. The Hungarian nobility of the counties ruled a predominantly Romanian and formerly enserfed population that resented its underprivileged political and social position. The Szekler nobility was a larger percentage of its region's population, politics was more broadly based, and the population was overwhelmingly Hungarian-speaking and less polarized in a socioeconomic sense. Romanians constituted a small majority of the population of the Fundus Regius and enjoyed a far better socioeconomic position than their counterparts in the counties, but like the latter they were essentially excluded from the local administration. Saxon and Hungarian towns, even where they were ethnic islands in a Romanian sea, remained the political domain of the respective ruling nationalities.

This system of political and social privilege was at issue in the debate over the Transylvanian electoral law during these years. Constitutional law and geography were important considerations in the activity of not only politicians but, as we will see, the religious communities.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CONSTITUTIONAL RESTORATION AND SCHMERLING PROVISORIUM

Hungarian-Romanian relations reached a crucial phase during the 1860s. Both Transylvania and the Danubian Principalities were important arenas for this relationship. This chapter will trace the course of Transylvanian politics from 1861 to 1865, pointing out the role of Hungarians and Romanians outside the empire as well as in Transylvania and Hungary.

The threat posed by the Hungarian emigres and their domestic supporters was a weighty consideration in the decision to restore the constitution in Hungary and Transylvania in 1861. The emigres' apparent strength buttressed the Old Conservatives' call for concessions. On the other hand, the revelation that the moderates led by Ferenc Deák dominated the political opposition seemed to make concessions less urgent. The political activities of the national minorities had a sobering effect on the Hungarian leadership, undermining the influence of the radicals.<sup>1</sup>

The declining influence of those Hungarians who supported the emigre leadership was similar in Transylvania.

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1. Redlich demonstrates the relevance of the radicals for the Old Conservatives' concession strategy. György Szabad stresses the importance of the Slovak Congress in June, 1861 for the victory of Deák's party in the diet. Political Trends, 108-16. Yet diplomatic developments, Italian politics, and most of all the capture and extradition of László Teleki in December, 1860 greatly weakened the emigres in this period.--Lukács, 170-94.

The strength of the party is difficult to judge. The numerous demonstrations in favor of the union with Hungary and the laws of 1848, held in March and April, 1861, included sporadic manifestations of Kossuthist sympathies. Demonstrators commemorating soldiers who had fought against Austria in 1848-49 waved the national flag and sang the revolutionary "Klapka march."<sup>2</sup> Many supporters of the radicals were Hungarian school students, whose views were frowned upon by their more conservative teachers and schoolmates. This was the case at the hanging of a flag inscribed "1848" at the Reformed College in Kolozsvár on March 15, 1861. The Austrian commandant threatened to shoot the flag down, but the school principal and higher-born students<sup>3</sup> prevailed on the radical to take the flag down. The Catholic priest in Csíksomlyó was investigated by the authorities after allegedly praising Kossuth and Garibaldi in a sermon in May.<sup>4</sup> The return of Transylvanians who had served in the Hungarian Legion in Italy helped to increase the ranks of the radicals. Many were disillusioned by their experiences in Italy, but others were eager to join the<sup>5</sup> oppositional movement at home.

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2. The radicals at one such demonstration in Schassburg included Saxons and Romanians. Urmosy I, 268-71.

3. Lajos Sárkány, "Losonci Báró Bánffy Dezső emlékezete," and Lajos Réthy, "Széljegyzetek Br. Bánffy Dezsőről," Kolozsvári református kollégium értesítője 1911/12, 9-34 and 35-46. Sárkány maintained that Bánffy, one of the students and son of the prefect designate, was a leader of the radicals. Bánffy's more plebeian classmate Réthy recalled Bánffy was one of the moderates in the incident.

4. See Chapter V.

5. The papers of Chancellor Kemény and his successor

As the chance of renewed war in Italy faded, the importance of the Principalities as a potential field of operation for the emigres increased. The Prime Minister of Moldavia from April, 1860 to February, 1861, Mihail Kogălniceanu, sympathized with the emigres. He gave refuge to thousands of Transylvanian Hungarian who entered Moldavia, including Berzenczey, the reputed leader of the Kossuthists in Transylvania.<sup>6</sup> Arms depots and military camps were established for the emigres. Prince Cuza may not have had active knowledge of these arrangements, but the Wallachian government was also favorable to the emigres. It permitted the appearance of a Kossuthist newspaper in Hungarian from September to December, 1860.<sup>7</sup> The arms shipment to the Principalities provided for in the agreement of 1859 was a fiasco, and weakened the position of Kogălniceanu. The shipment in five Italian ships in December, 1860 came to the attention of the great powers,<sup>8</sup> who forced Cuza to sequester it.

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contain regular reports from Mecséry on the return home of Legion members-- MOL, D228 1861-63 passim.

6. Bobango, 106-8. Kogălniceanu rejected Austrian demands for their extradition.

7. Károly Köllő, "Az első bukaresti magyar nyelvű lap," Két irodalom mezsgyéjén. Tanulmányok a román-magyar irodalmi kapcsolatok történetéből (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1984), 157-72. The publisher of the Bukaresti Magyar Közlöny was Ferenc Koós, a Transylvanian clergyman who headed the Hungarian Reformed congregation in Bucharest.

8. Lukács, 162-3; Jelavich, Russia and the Formation, 125-6. The scandal of the Italian arms may explain the suppression of the Közlöny and the decision of many of the emigres to leave for Italy. Two groups totalling 295 left Galați for Italy in March and April, 1861 to enlist in the Legion after spending the winter in Moldavia.-- Csetri, 35-6.

The prospects for collaboration between the emigres and Prince Cuza deteriorated in the course of 1861. Klapka and the Prince concluded an agreement in January, 1861 concerning the storage of a portion of the Italian arms shipment that had been salvaged and the recognition of equal rights for the Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania.<sup>9</sup> But under the influence of the "Dacoroman" party in Bucharest, the view became more prevalent that such assurances were inadequate. The Dacoromans included several influential Transylvanian Romanian emigres. The faction was strongly concerned with the affairs of Transylvania and sought, in the long run, its annexation by Romania.<sup>10</sup> The Hungarian emigres were bound by personal conviction and the state of opinion among Hungarians at home to insist on the territorial integrity of Hungary. Their open letter to Garibaldi to this effect, in August, 1861,<sup>11</sup> prompted outrage in the press of Bucharest.

While the Austrian police and military were concerned about the arms smuggling and clandestine propaganda of the Hungarian emigration, many aristocrats attributed Romanian radicalism to Dacoroman agitation from Bucharest. The prefect of Hunyad county, Baron Ferenc Nopcsa, wrote to Kemeny that the purpose of the Romanian opposition to elected

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9. Lukács, 164; the text of the agreement is in Borsi-Kálmán, 11-14.

10. The Transylvanian-born Alexandru Papiu-Ilarian became a leading foreign policy advisor of Cuza and wrote a major memorandum to him in January, 1860 propounding these ideas. It is quoted at length in Borsi-Kálmán, 67-71.

11. Curticăpeanu, 422-5.



county officials was to obstruct any possibility of Hungarian-Romanian compromise in the county assembly of July 8, 1861. The goal was to create anarchy and facilitate the union of the county with neighboring Wallachia. He wrote that the leader of the conspiracy, Ioan Crainic, was a former Austrian officer who had been in Romania since April and was seeking a commission in Cuza's army. Nopcsa argued that the union of Transylvania with Hungary was the best way to<sup>12</sup> defeat this secessionism. The correspondence of Baritiu with Bucharest during 1861 suggests that Crainic had little official support there, and that Transylvanian matters were<sup>13</sup> considered an internal Austrian affair. Papiu-Ilarian himself wrote to some of the radicals in Transylvania offering his advice. The program he urged on them, and on the readers of his book published at the end of 1861, was not unification with the Principalities but support for the Austrian policy of Transylvanian autonomy versus demands for<sup>14</sup> union with Hungary. The real significance of Dacoroman

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12. Nopcsa to Kemény, Deva, July 11, 1861 (MOL D228, 1861/305). Nopcsa was a conservative aristocrat of Romanian origin.

13. Ioan Maiorescu, a Transylvanian emigre who became a high educational official in 1859, noted Crainic's visit to the Ministry of War in his letter to Barițiu of January 15/27, 1861. He remarked that due to the dislike for foreigners in the Walachian army Crainic had little prospect of being accepted there. In his letter of October 4/16, he stated that concord between the nationalities, not secession, was the proper objective. GBCS, I, 407-8, 411.

14. Letters to Iosif Hodoș and Ion Axente Sever, Iași, June 9 and October 16, 1861. Iosif Pervain and Ioan Chindriș, ed., Corespondența lui Alexandru Papiu Ilarian I (Cluj: Dacia, 1972), 106-9. Ilarian was surely aware that his letters might be read by the authorities. Nopcsa mentioned Axente as one of the radicals at the Deva assembly.

agitation in the Principalities lay in the weakening of Romanian collaboration with the Hungarian emigres. The material support sent to the Transylvanian Romanians by the principalities was negligible, and the sources of the Transylvanians' actions must be sought in internal<sup>15</sup> conditions.

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## Local Politics

The Old Conservatives could not hope to restore completely the pre-1848 organization of Transylvania in April, 1861. The revolution itself had brought innovations in county administration. The establishment of civil equality implied a broadening of the social composition of the administration. Yet the aristocracy feared that the new electoral law would enable commoners and non-Hungarians to gain control of the congregations. Law XVI of 1848 therefore provided for the one-time election of county commissions to supplant the congregations; but these were in fact similar in composition

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Ilarian's book was The Constitutional Independence of Transylvania, published in several languages at the end of 1861 and beginning of 1862. On December 17 the Gubernium approved the recommendation of the Kronstadt police to not only permit the importation of the book but to encourage its distribution. Grigore Ploesteanu, "Mărturi privind biografia și opera lui Al. Papiu Ilarian," Vatra 1983 #2, p. 7.

15. In connection with a trip through Transylvania by Ilarian, Șaguna's inspector of schools, Paul Vasici, wrote Baritiu from Hermannstadt in January, 1861: "Declararea principelui Cuza în privința neutralității [on the Transylvanian question] au produs aicea cea mai plăcută înțipărire. E bună și pentru noi, căci vor mai înceta a ne negri în colori posomorîte, cum sînt inimile cele rele." GBCS, II, 53. The Hungarian allegations of irredentist influence were a source of embarrassment for the Transylvanian Romanians.

to the latter, only smaller. After considerable controversy in the Council of Ministers in 1861, Kemény secured imperial sanction for the restoration of this system. His provisional Instruction of late March called on the newly appointed prefects of the noble counties and Szekler districts to appoint commissions of fifty to one hundred members with "suitable" representation of all classes and religions. Kemény issued similar instructions to Franz Salmen, the Saxon Comes of 1848 who was restored to this function. Wherever possible, the senators and assembly members of 1848 should be restored to office, and replacements elected by the competent Saxon bodies.

The idea of appointing rather than electing the county and district commission members originated in 1848, but it became apparent that such commissions could not restore public confidence. Hungarian and Romanian politicians often agreed that the new commissions should be elected by county congregations including non-noble elements. Even so, the electoral assemblies were composed chiefly of landowners. Disregarding the provisional instructions, congregations met in Kolozs county and Făgăraș district in May and elected commissions with over 400 members, mostly Romanians in Făgăraș and Hungarians in Kolozsvár.<sup>17</sup> Other congregations accepted the use of the Romanian language in local adminis-

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 16. György Spira, "Polgári forradalom (1848-1849)," in Magyarország története 1848-1890 I (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1979), 109; Deák, 98; "Vármegyei állandó bizottmány," Magyar történelmi fogalomgyűjtemény II, 985-6.

17. Retegan, "Lupta juridictionala," 172, 180-82.

tration. They elected many Romanians to the commissions and to public office, though in numbers too small to correspond to the Romanian percentage of the population or to satisfy the Romanian politicians.<sup>18</sup> The elected commissions routinely exceeded the specified limit of one hundred members. Clergymen led the Romanian opposition in several of the assemblies: Metropolitan Şuluţiu in Alsó-Fehér county, Greek Catholic dean Ioan Fekete Negruţiu in Kolozsvár, and the Orthodox dean Nicolae Crainic in Hunyad county. Everywhere except in the two Romanian districts, the Hungarian aristocracy dominated the proceedings, and in the majority of cases the officials of 1848 were restored to their former positions.

The Romanian movement was partly responsible for the failure of the government's plan. More important was the resistance of the nobility. Not only did it declare the Provisional Instructions illegal, as did the Romanians in several assemblies,<sup>19</sup> but it denounced the restoration of Transylvanian autonomy and the prospective diet as well. Some assemblies even selected deputies to the diet in Pest, but Mikó acted energetically to prevent their appearance there.<sup>20</sup> Resolutions interdicting the payment of taxes,

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18. Retegan notes, however, that in terms of the use of the Romanian language and the appointment of Romanian officials the assemblies were far more conciliatory than those of 1848. Ibid., 168-70.

19. Ibid., 171.

20. Mikó telegraphed Deák on May 9 that Franz Joseph had ordered him to prevent the Szekler deputies' participation "um jeden Preis"; Deák should read the text of this order to any that might arrive and ask them not to appear at the

labelled "Terrorismus der Behörden" by the Austrians, were also passed. The Hungarian leaders held a meeting in Kolozsvar. They agreed that without union with Hungary the regime was illegal, but that appointment to county offices might be accepted in order to facilitate the end of the absolutist regime and the eventual achievement of their goals. <sup>21</sup>

The ends and means of the Old Conservatives were contradictory, and the Chancellery and Gubernium found themselves in an anomalous position with respect to the Hungarian majorities in the assemblies. The latter declared the Chancellery and Gubernium illegal, sought to send deputies to the diet in Pest, disregarded procedural instructions and discouraged the payment of taxes. But two factors brought a considerable rapprochement between the counties and elected officials on the one hand and these superior officials: the increasing evidence that the Chancellery and the Gubernium were defending Hungarian interests against Viennese centralism, and the apparent collusion of the latter with Romanian demands which threatened all Hungarian noblemen, regardless of their constitutional views.

The Gubernium moved reluctantly to the establishment of the Romanian district of Năsăud, whose assembly met only four months after the imperial decree establishing the district in March, 1861. The Gubernium stubbornly refused to recognize the election of a predominantly Romanian body of

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diet. MOL F263. 1861/342; AS Cluj. Corespondența Mikó Imre, 1861/123.

21. Ürmössy, I, 277-8.

officials in Făgăraș, although the Hungarians were less than  
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5% of the population of the district. In the counties,  
on the other hand, the Gubernium resolutely upheld the  
decisions of committees and congregations despite protests  
against the inadequate representation of the majority  
Romanian population in the press and in petitions to the  
23  
court.

The center of the Romanian resistance was, as in the  
past, the county of Alsó-Fehér. In these years considerable  
conservative-liberal collaboration developed among the  
county's Hungarian nobility. Alsó-Fehér was the most popu-  
lous county of Transylvania, and like the others it was  
heavily Romanian. It also contained the seat of the Greek  
Catholic Archbishopric in Blaj, the Roman Catholic Bishopric  
in Gyulafehérvár, and the Reformed College in Nagyenyed.  
All three were enormously wealthy, and the prelates and  
church officials, as major landowners, weighed heavily in  
county politics. The Romanians repeatedly demanded the  
election of county officials by a congregation similar to

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22. Retegan, "Lupta," 179-81; Ürmösy's account of the events  
in Făgăraș, I, 283-6, is sarcastic and anti-Romanian.

23. Ibid., passim. As noted earlier, Baron Nopcsa's  
origins made his attitude more ambiguous than that of the  
other prefects. By admitting village representatives and  
all the village pastors to the county congregation he per-  
mitted a Romanian majority to form, and the Hungarian  
minority, though concurring with his opposition to the  
Romanian radicals, objected to the unconstitutional way in  
which he steamrolled both Romanian and Hungarian obstruc-  
tion; MOL D228, 1861/305. The Nopcsa family was heavily in  
debt, and its petition to the Ministry of Finance for relief  
was under consideration throughout the summer of 1861; see  
POM V, 2, 113-15.

that which met in Hunyad in July. Led by Sulutiu, they rejected the reelection of the commission of 1848 by the county assembly in Nagyenyed on April 21-22. All the Romanians elected there and in the local assemblies declined to take their posts, while those Hungarians sent to replace them were not recognized by the Romanians. A new congregation called on June 26-27 met with similar failure, and renewed attempts at general congregations on September 16<sup>24</sup> and October 17 were also boycotted by the Romanians.

Mikó repeatedly called for armed force in order to "restore order," and extremist agitation and compel obedience to the officials, but this was refused by the higher authorities.<sup>25</sup>

The Saxon establishment, in contrast to the Hungarian one, approved the restoration of Transylvanian autonomy, with the sole exception of the district of Schässburg referred to earlier. Five districts of the Fundus Regius had

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24. Retegan, "Lupta," 173-7.

25. On May 26 Degenfeld warned the Council of Ministers that the use of the military "nur durch die Notwendigkeit der Aufrechterhaltung der öffentlichen Ruhe und Ordnung bedingt, nicht aber von dem Einschreiten der Parteien um Assistenz abhängig gemacht werde." POM V,2, p. 79. Mecséry and Degenfeld personally assured Ioan Rațiu, who was in Vienna as part of a delegation, that orders had been given forbidding the use of the gendarmes and military against Romanian opponents of the county administration. See his letter of July 8 to Barițiu, in Keith Hitchins and Liviu Maior, ed., Corespondența lui Ioan Rațiu cu George Barițiu (1861-1892) (Cluj: Dacia, 1970), 57-8. Referring to the widespread civil disobedience in Alsó-Fehér, the provincial commander Lieutenant Field Marshal Montenuovo laconically remarked in November that the prefect, György Pogány, "scheint nicht mehr der Herr in seinem Hause zu seyn..." but ignored the question of sending troops. Montenuovo to Miko, in AS Cluj, Corespondența Mikó Imre 1861/220.

saxon majorities, including Schassburg, and in these districts the restoration of the old oligarchy aroused far less Romanian objection than in the counties. But none of the other, predominantly Romanian districts elected more than three Romanian senators, and not many more to the assembly. The rural population was excluded from these elections. After a Romanian protest to the Emperor, a Romanian was added to the senate in Hermannstadt as inspector for the wealthy Romanian subdistrict of Săliște, but the local population refused to recognize him. A Romanian delegation to Salmen demanded half of the members of the Konflux, which had never included a single Romanian, for its nation; only four were granted. Mikó and Kemény responded more favorably to Romanian complaints against the Saxon restoration, even annulling the elections in two small, overwhelmingly Romanian districts.<sup>26</sup> For reasons of imperial policy these complaints aroused little effective solicitude in Austrian circles.

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Kemeny and Schmerling

The decisive imperial question was the implementation of the February Patent through the convocation and completion of a Reichsrat enjoying sufficient public confidence

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26. Retegan, "Lupta," 181-5. The statement by Szász, "A megyékhez képest itt lényegesen rosszabb helyzetben voltak a románok." (1487) is partially correct, but misleading. Materially the Romanians were better off, and while it is true that their representation was truly less, so also were the social and political conflicts.



to approve the budget and improve the budget situation. The election of Reichsrat deputies by the diets of the Austrian hereditary provinces presented little difficulty, and the Reichsrat convened on May 1, 1861. Despite the flaws in parliamentary representation and prerogatives of the new body, the day marked a landmark in the history of Austrian constitutionalism.<sup>27</sup> However, the incomplete membership of the Reichsrat was its great flaw. Article ten of the fundamental law accompanying the February Patent stated that only the Gesamtreichsrat (of all the lands) had competence in matters concerning the entire empire, especially the state budget. But only the engerer Reichsrat, or that of Cisleithania, convened on May 1. Thus the Reichsrat could legally fulfill the task which was its raison d'être only if the Hungarian lands could be induced to send their deputies, as well.

Not only the Hungarian, but also the Croatian diet had to be dissolved because of its refusal to send deputies to the Reichsrat.<sup>28</sup> On the day of the passage of the Patent, the Emperor called on Kemény to report on the method of selecting deputies from Transylvania. Kemény requested the

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27. The reaction of eyewitnesses and the Vienna press to the Emperor's speech at the opening ceremony was enthusiastic. The state celebration included a high mass in the cathedral, cannon salutes, military parades and the ringing of all church bells in the the city. Malfèr, in his introduction to POM V,2, ix-x.

28. The Croats were originally less opposed to the Patent than the Hungarians, but finally refused to send deputies to the Reichsrat after repeated demands for the representation of the Military Frontier at the diet were rejected. Malfèr, in POM V,3, xiv.

Gubernium's opinion a month later, and the latter deliberated on the question on April 15, its first day of operation. The unanimous opinion of the ten councillors in attendance was that since the union law of 1848 was still valid, the plan to convoke the Transylvanian diet should be abandoned.<sup>29</sup> Kemeny could thus claim to the Romanians that while he desired to convoke the diet, he was unable to do so against the opposition of the Gubernium.<sup>30</sup>

In a formal sense, Kemény may have been correct. But beyond the question of legality, the composition of the prospective diet was crucial for the Hungarians. They had nothing to fear from a diet so composed that it would reject the Patent and insist on the union. Franz Joseph demanded that the electors include former serfs. In rejecting the proposals of the Gyulafehérvár conference in his Vortrag of March 4, Kemény proposed an electoral law that would preserve aristocratic hegemony.<sup>31</sup> After a bitter debate in the Council of Ministers, Franz Joseph approved this proposal on March 24, and Kemény reported the decision to the

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29. The letters of Franz Joseph and of Kemény and the opinion of the Gubernium are in Sándor, 135-9, 144-5, and MOL, D228 1861/153, 161.

30. Kemény made this declaration to the Romanian deputation on July 1. Rațiu to Barițiu, in Correspondența lui Ioan Rațiu cu George Barițiu (1861-1892), 51-2.

31. Electors would be those entitled to vote by the law of 1791 (landed nobility in the noble counties and Szekler districts) plus 5070 of the emancipated serfs, based on a minimum tax assessment of 8 fl., most of the latter Romanians. Kemény tendentiously emphasized this Romanian majority, neglecting to mention the other electors, who were mostly Hungarians, or draw a total picture. Redlich II, 241-5; POM V,1, 164.

Gubernium two days later. By its decision of June 1 the Gubernium rejected this measure as well, stating that the law of 1791 cited by Kemeny was superceded by that of

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1848. The later law provided for village representatives as well as a tax assessment category which would increase the total electorate in the noble counties and Szekler districts by 3600, but still leave a noble majority in the electorate.

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The traditional Hungarian political class which would dominate the electorate was clearly opposed to the Patent and the Reichsrat. Schmerling and his allies therefore would not accept such an electoral law.

The report of Kemény of March 4 had been lithographed for examination by the Council of Ministers. In the debate on March 14, all non-Hungarian members opposed Kemény's proposal. These ministers demanded that Romanian representation be not merely piecemeal, but in a proportion much closer to their share of the Transylvanian population. The old constitution and electoral laws, if they prevented this, must be modified. However, after the restricted conference of March 21 the Emperor accepted Kemény's proposal.

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32. POM V,1, 165; Sándor, 144-5.

33. Sándor, 146-51.

34. Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 260-1. A comparison of Kemény's 5070 and 15,000 electors in the tax category cited by the Gubernium on October 3 (Sándor, 177) suggests-- it is not explicitly stated-- that two-thirds of those assessed at 8 fl. were landed noblemen. In the electorate of 110,000 in 1868 according to the 1848 law, two-thirds were noblemen. The third estate, the former serfs, constituted only 10.6%.

35. Rainer chaired the Council of Ministers on March

The Emperor may have been swayed by Szécsen's argument against the strategy of the Austrians: an electoral law introduced in absolutist fashion would only increase the Hungarian opposition, and it was dangerous and inadvisable to subvert the social structure through a radical electoral reform.<sup>36</sup>

As the Transylvanian counties organized and issued their oppositional declarations, Schmerling conceded that it might be three months before the Transylvanian diet could convene. He therefore argued for the direct election of deputies to the Reichsrat in circumvention of the diet, but was defeated.<sup>37</sup> The Hungarian ministers clearly sought to postpone the diet, whether from opposition to its convocation or in the hope that the political climate would later be more favorable to its success.<sup>38</sup> On June 5 Szécsen defended the delay in the convocation of the diet on the

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14, and seven ministers plus Lichtenfels opposed the proposal POM V,1, 148-54); only five were present (Rainer, Schmerling, Mecséry, Kemény, and Szécsen) at the decisive conference on March 21, chaired by the Emperor (Ibid., 196-9).

36. "Allein man müsse sich hüten, von Regierungs wegen die sozialen Verhältnisse umstürzen und aus übelverstandener Humanität die grosse Masse der Ungebildeten über die Gebildeten stellen zu wollen. Kemény added: "...wenn die Romanen auf dem Landtage die Majorität erhielten, dies soviel hiesse, als das ganze Land der Willkür der zwei romanischen Bischöfe preiszugeben, welche bekanntlich einen unbeschränkten Einfluss auf die Bevölkerung üben." Redlich II, 245; POM, V,1, 197. This exaggeration reflected a common Hungarian perception.

37. The Council of Ministers session of April 26: Redlich II, 245-7; POM V,1, 300-3.

38. Redlich (II, 245) alleges the former, but there is more evidence for this in the case of Mikó than of Kemény. The Chancellor was apparently earnest in his commitment to the Emperor's expressed policy.

grounds that it would be divisive to call it while the  
Hungarian diet was in session.<sup>39</sup> Kemény stated that the  
convocation required an imperial command. Upon the request  
of the Council of Ministers, Franz Joseph issued this com-  
mand on July 29, calling for a report by August 10.<sup>40</sup>

The mutual desire of the non-Hungarian ministers and of  
the Romanians for an increase in the representation of the  
latter made possible a sort of collaboration between

them.<sup>41</sup> At the beginning of June, the Romanian Permanent  
Committee empowered a deputation of three to represent the  
national interest at the court. Consequently Iacob Bologa,  
Ilie Măcelariu and Ioan Rațiu departed for Vienna on June

15.<sup>42</sup> It is important not to exaggerate the influence  
which they exercised on events. Still, beginning with  
their imperial audience on July 1 they met with several of  
the German ministers and received encouraging responses to  
their specific proposals concerning the diet.<sup>43</sup> Of

greatest consequence was Schmerling's decision, at the  
urging of the deputation, to confer with the Romanian Chan-  
cellery councillor Vasile Ladislau Pop. Schmerling assured

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39. POM V,2, 104.

40. Ibid., 245-7, 259.

41. "Imprejurările creează astfel condițiile unei cola-  
borări, cu caracter inegal și instabil, care va dura pînă în  
1865, cînd negocierile dualiste, al căror pericol a existat  
în tot acest timp, devin publice."-- Retegan, 58.

42. Josan, "Documente inedite privind lupta națională a  
românilor din Transilvania în anul 1861," Apulum 17 (1979),  
542.

43. Letters of July 1 to 30, in Corespondența Rațiu-  
Barițiu, 50-71; on this deputation see also Hitchins,  
Orthodoxy and Nationality, 125-8.

pop that the electoral law would have to be broadened and  
the number of Romanian voters increased.<sup>44</sup>

When the Chancellery ratified Kemény's plan for the diet on August 6, 1861, Pop dissented and presented a separate opinion. Consequently Kemény's presentation to the Council of Ministers on August 24 included both proposals,<sup>45</sup> which were debated on that day and again on September 9. The three principal disputed points were the place of convocation, the articles to be submitted for passage by the diet, and the electoral law. Kemény proposed Kolozsvár as the site of the diet, and Pop, Hermannstadt. All German ministers preferred the Saxon Hermannstadt over Kolozsvár, where they claimed the Saxon and Romanian deputies would be terrorized. Schmerling and his allies also supported Pop's proposal of articles establishing the Romanians' legal equality and their status as a fourth constitutional nation (Inartikulierung), demanded already at Blaj in 1848 and at<sup>46</sup> the Romanian conference in January. The electoral proposals agreed that the noble electorate should be supple-

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44. Letters of July 18 and July 30, in Ibid., 65-6, 69-70. Little is known about the activity of the deputation in August, but apparently at least two of them remained in Vienna-- Josan, 544. Szász (1490) credits the delegation with convincing Schmerling of the need to broaden the electoral law.

45. POM V,2, 360-4; MOL D228, 1861/322, 323.

46. The question of Inartikulierung was primarily a symbolic one, but the Transylvanian Romanians attached great importance to it. The Hungarians insisted that the declaration of civil equality in 1848 made the distinction of feudal nations irrelevant. The former practice of curial vote (vote by feudal nations) was at any rate abandoned in the statutes of the 1863 diet.

mented by one determined by tax assessment. Kemény's minimum assessment of 8 fl. would exclude the head tax of 5 fl.,<sup>47</sup> and that of Pop would include it. After Schmerling, Mecséry and Rechberg arranged a group meeting with the Emperor, he accepted Pop's proposal on September 11. A compromise was reached on the site of the diet, Mecséry<sup>48</sup> suggesting Gyulafehérvár for this purpose. The Emperor's acceptance of the proposal of Pop made the position of<sup>49</sup> Kemény untenable, and he resigned on September 19.

The convocation of the diet still had to overcome the<sup>50</sup> opposition of the Gubernium. Meeting in special session on October 3, the Gubernium approved a long address to the Emperor, citing many Transylvanian laws to demonstrate the

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47. Franz Joseph had excluded the head tax in his Instruction of March 24 (Sándor, 145), but Lichtenfels argued that this was not a formal law and that the Emperor had later expressed the desire to modify it. POM V,2, 363-4.

48. According to the Romanian Chancellery Konzipist Puşcariu, the Emperor originally decided in favor of Kemény's proposal, but then reversed himself. The protocol of the Council of Ministers indicate the contrary, however.-- Puşcariu, 57; Retegan, 58-9. Both writers indicate that the proposal of Gyulafehérvár came from Pop, but were apparently unaware of the private audience and Mecséry's compromise proposal; see POM V,2, footnote p. 364. Retegan argues that Romanian contemporaries exaggerated the importance of Pop's proposal. But from a procedural standpoint it was crucial.

49. Puşcariu, 57-8. Most Romanians denounced Kemény's policies as anti-Romanian. Puşcariu insists he was forced out of office as the victim of Schmerling's conflict with the Hungarian extremists, had good intentions toward the Romanians and was preferable to those who succeeded him in 1865.

50. The edict of convocation for November 4 was sent to the Gubernium on September 14; the text is in Sándor, 162-65.

illegality of the convocation and of the electoral law.

Comparing the electoral law to that approved earlier, the address pointed out that the electorate would thereby increase more than ten times, to 160,000. The responsible elements of society would be fair game for "the ignorant, crude masses easily misled by demagogues and agitators."

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This was an exaggeration, since the persons granted the vote by the new law were less than one-fourth of the adult male population.<sup>53</sup> The three conservative Romanian councillors Aldulian, Dunca, and Lazăr issued a separate opinion agreeing with the constitutional stance of the majority, but urging that preparations be made for the diet anyway because it had been commanded.<sup>54</sup> The sole Saxon councillor, Konrad

Schmidt, gave a third opinion which was in complete agreement with the edict of convocation.<sup>55</sup>

The defiant statement by the Gubernium must have left

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51. On Bishop Haynald's exceptional participation in this session, see Chapter VI. The address of the Gubernium is in Sándor, 165-80.

52. "...ez által a volt jogosultak és egyéb érdekeknek a helyes monarchiai országlási elvek szerint el nem mellőzhető és meg nem semisíthető jogos befolyása a bujtgatók és izgatók által a legkönnyebben félrevezethető értetlen nyers tömegnek lenne prédául kitéve." Sándor, 177-8.

53. According to various calculations in 1862 and 1863, the electorate in 1863 was between 70,563 and 97,915. The minimum tax assessment applied to noblemen as well. MOL D228, 1862/206, 414; 1863/828; Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 63, 257.

54. Sándor, 180-3. The Romanian separate vote was a weak compromise that satisfied no one; it aroused doubts at the court concerning the loyalty of the Romanians, and the Romanian deputation insisted repeatedly that it did not represent the views of the Romanian leadership and public opinion.-- Josan, 559-61.

55. Sándor, 183-4.



the court temporarily undecided on what to do. The address<sup>56</sup>  
only came before the Council of Ministers on October 19.

In the meantime the Romanian Permanent Committee had decided  
on October 2 to send a new deputation to Vienna, led by  
şuluţiu. It arrived on October 8, conferred frequently with  
the Romanians holding high office there, and regularly  
visited the Emperor and high officials until its departure<sup>57</sup>  
from Vienna at the end of November.

Nationalist animosities reached a new height in Alsó-  
Fehér county. Romanian communities rejected the officials  
elected by the county congregations of September 16-17 and  
October 17, who for their part refused to collect taxes.  
Prefect Pogány and Governor Mikó appealed to Montenuovo for  
troops to restore order, but the latter refused. The  
alleged Romanian "agitators" were loyal subjects of the  
imperial government, wrote Montenuovo, while the congrega-  
tion majorities had "openly expressed their sympathy for  
Garibaldi and consorts." He added, ironically, that troops  
were unavailable because they were employed elsewhere in tax  
execution.<sup>58</sup>

Many of the leaders of the Romanian civil  
disobedience were clergymen, and local Hungarian officials  
alleged they were receiving orders from the Archbishopal

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56. POM V, 2, 446-52.

57. Puşcariu kept the official protocol of the deputation's activities; it is preserved in AS Alba Iulia. MRU, CM 709/1861, and published in Josan, 555-71.

58. MOL, F263 1861/2579. Montenuovo to Miko, October 27, 1861. Pogány immediately denied the charge of Garibaldist sympathies in the congregations: Pogány to Mikó, October 31, in F263 1861/2602.

Chancellery in Blaj. The charge may have been an attempt to undermine the prestige of Şuluţiu at a time when he was in Vienna, lobbying the court on behalf of the Romanians.

The first fruit of this lobbying was the well-informed, unfavorable reception given to the Gubernium address when it came before the Council of Ministers.<sup>60</sup>

The debate in the Council of Ministers was a virtual repeat of those of the previous month. The interim director of the Chancellery, Dániel Kabós, presented the address of the Gubernium, which he supported in many respects, and a dissenting opinion by Pop, which he attacked, and called for a delay of the diet until December 2. All ministers, including the Hungarians, rejected Kabós' report; he was not invited back when the debate was resumed twelve days later, presided over by the

<sup>61</sup>Emperor. Schmerling gave the introductory report at this session, arguing that new leadership was necessary in the Chancellery and Gubernium before the diet could be convoked

<sup>62</sup>with a reasonable chance of success. The centralist

former Minister of Justice Count Ferenc Nádasdy became the

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59. Pogány to Mikó, October 30, in MOL, F263 1861/2585.

60. The comportment of the Gubernium would have exasperated the ministers in any case, but the information provided by the deputation helped the ministers to make up their minds on a matter not within their immediate expertise.

61. POM V,2, 464-6. Puşcariu preserved a copy of Pop's opinion of October 10 in his personal archives; Alba Iulia. Muzeul Unirii, Arhiva. 6205/6. Kabós gained the post by virtue of his seniority among the Chancellery councillors--Ibid., V,2, 365.

62. Franz Joseph decided on the spot that the convocation must be delayed until the necessary personnel changes and preparations had been made. Consequently the convocation only ensued in 1863.

new Chancellor, was confirmed in office on November 7 and raised to the rank of voting minister. After Mikó declared his reluctance to convoke the diet, Nádasdy recommended his dismissal. This was approved by the Council of Ministers on November 17, and enacted a week later.<sup>63</sup> The new Governor, Lieutenant Field Marshal Count Ludwig Folliot-Crenneville,<sup>64</sup> was appointed on November 26.

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#### The Transylvanian Provisorium

As in Hungary, the Provisorium replaced the conservative leaders in the Chancellery and provincial administration with an absolutist official and a soldier. Throughout the decade of absolutism Nádasdy served in high judicial posts in Hungary and in Vienna.<sup>65</sup> Crenneville had an exclusively military training. He was considerably less independent in personality than Nádasdy, but with time he

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63. POM V,3, 28-31. Schmerling remarked sharply: "Belangend den Grafen Mikó so sei es wohl unmöglich, mit einem solchen Gouverneur weiter zu regieren, der sich nicht bequemen will, in die Tendenzen der Regierung einzugehen, weshalb es dringend notwendig sei, ihm durch eine andere vertrauenswürdige Persönlichkeit zu ersetzen."--Ibid., 30. Mikó for his part was correct in stating that Hungarian opinion and the county administration would preclude a workable diet, and that Gyulafehérvár lacked the necessary facilities. Mikó's declaration is in Redlich II, 254-5.

64. POM V,3, session of November 22, 1861, pp. 43-44. To prepare for the diet Nádasdy proposed to place the administration of the land "in kräftige Hände," offering the post "einstweilen einem hohen Militär." He and Degenfeld settled on Crenneville, who was the brother of the Emperor's court adjutant, of French origin but possessing estates in Hungary and a good facility in Hungarian.

65. Szász, "Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben," 1491. He states that compatriots considered him "the most hated Hungarian."

became involved in sterile jurisdictional struggles with Montenuovo and, beginning in 1865, with Nádasdy.<sup>66</sup>

The disunity over Hungarian questions in the Council of Ministers also reemerged concerning Transylvania. After Nádasdy's report of November 17, Forgách warned against incautious action in Transylvania because this would undermine the officials' prestige in Hungary.<sup>67</sup> He opposed Nádasdy's proposals for judicial reform, and he was absent when the administrative reforms were discussed two weeks later.<sup>68</sup> As a minister, Nádasdy was clearly in a much stronger position than Kemény had been, and would prove to be Schmerling's strongest and most faithful ally in the Council of Ministers after Lichtenfels.<sup>69</sup>

The essence of the Provisorium, as in Hungary, was the dissolution of the constitutional county assemblies where they had been successfully established in 1861. Nádasdy requested that the new administration strictly observe

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66. Klima 92-5; Kutschera 308-9. The rivalry with Montenuovo was basically personal in nature and owing to the fact they were military men of identical rank, and not due to procedural confusion as Szász (1491) implies.

67. POM V,3, 31. Plener thereupon remarked: "Übrigens wahrnehme er hieraus mit tiefem Bedauern, dass jene Einstimmigkeit und Einigkeit im Ministerrate auf diese Art nicht vorhanden sei, wie er sie nun erzielt sich gedacht habe."

68. Ibid., session of November 22 (45, 47); session of December 7 (94).

69. Redlich calls Lichtenfels "während der ganzen Dauer der Schmerling'schen Regierung... die stärkste Stütze des Staatsministers und seiner Politik" (II, 306), and Nádasdy "der getreue Knappe des Staatsministers... der womöglich noch zentralistischer dachte als sein Chef." (319) Chef should be understood, of course, in the sense of faction leader rather than administrative superior.

imperial regulations: it should not hinder the payment of taxes, and it should assist in military recruitment, uphold the Provisional Instruction of March 1861, and recognize the February Patent and take measures to facilitate the election of deputies to the Reichsrat. <sup>70</sup> Dissolving the illegally constituted assemblies, Nádasdy proposed a new statute for the counties, approved by Franz Joseph on November 27 and <sup>71</sup> definitively promulgated on December 12, 1861.

The new statute contained elements of the Provisional Instruction of March, 1861, liberal elements from the February Patent, and also openly absolutistic ones. Permanent commissions in the counties and districts would elect the local officials as they had in the past. Unlike the Instruction of March, 1861, the new statute prescribed membership in the commissions according to the principle of economic Interessenvertretung which Schmerling had established for the Reichsrat statute and the Diets in the hereditary provinces. Half the commission members would be elected by the large landowners, one-third to half would be elected by appointed representatives of the villages, and the remainder by the local chambers of commerce. Constitu-

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70. POM V,3 (November 17), 29.

71. The debate on November 25 (Ibid., V,3, 61-4) concerned the general principles underlying the statute; the Chancellery decree of November 28 (1861/3895) is reproduced in Sándor, 219-22. On December 7 the Council of Ministers quickly approved the proposed electoral statute (POM, V,3, 94-6; the ensuing Chancellery decree of December 16 (1861/4095) and excerpts from the definitive regulation are in Sándor, 230-4. The complete county statute and electoral statute are in Sammlung der wichtigsten Staatsacten II, 98-122, and in the printed original in MOL D228 1862/258.

tional, military and financial matters, and instructions to the Deputies to the diet, were excluded from the competence of the commissions, and the prefects given nearly absolute powers.

Even Hungarians in the opposition had to admit that the Transylvanian Provisorium was much more moderate than that in Hungary. No military courts were introduced, nor were the police powers of the governor greatly increased.<sup>72</sup>

With an eye toward the eventual success of the diet, one hoped to limit Hungarian alienation to a necessary minimum. The Hungarian opposition had in fact been less extreme than in Hungary.<sup>73</sup> Ürmössy cited three reasons for the increasing moderation of the Hungarian opposition at the end of 1861: hope for support from the emigration faded as its dependence on Cuza, who himself desired Transylvania, increased; the course of the Hungarian diet prompted Transylvanian Hungarians, as well, to see Deak as their leader; and the threat posed by Romanian aspirations had a sobering effect. In sum, "fear for one's nationality made<sup>74</sup> abhorrent the idea of revolution."

The response of the opposition to the Provisorium,

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72. Albert Berzeviczy, Az absolutizmus kora Magyarországon III, 391.

73. Malfèr, "Einleitung," in POM V,3, xlvii. Schmerling argued on November 25 that the electoral statute "den Beweis liefern wird, dass man nicht gesonnen ist, in Siebenbürgen, wo eine so einstimmige Renitenz wie in Ungarn nicht eingetreten ist, alles konstitutionelle Leben zu suspendieren." POM V,3, 63.

74. "A nemzetiséget való féltés perhorreskálta a forradalmat." Ürmössy I, 346-9.

after nearly a year of defiant manifestoes and a final  
75  
protest by the Gubernium on December 17, was moderate.

The Hungarian prefects decided at a meeting in Kolozsvár in December to resign from their offices with the exception of Pogany, since the danger entailed by surrendering the leadership of Alsó-Fehér to a Romanian was considered unacceptable. About a third of the Gubernium councillors resigned or retired, and were replaced by other Hungarians, Romanians, and Saxons. Pop became one of the Vice Presidents of the Gubernium, but the Hungarians retained a  
76  
majority of voting councillors. Most Hungarian prefects

and county officials resigned in January, while the Romanians remained in office. To assist the recruitment of replacements, Crenneville secured an increase in the pre-  
77  
fects' salaries. Two of the new prefects were Romanians, the county official Vasile Buteanu and the former Chancellery official Ioan Pușcariu. Outside of the Szekler region and Fundus Regius, six of the ten prefects were now Romanians. The other replacements for the aristocratic prefects of 1861 were veterans of the absolutist administration of the 1850s and people of lesser birth:

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75. The Gubernium resolution 1861/13,017, denouncing the Provisorium, is published in Sándor, 223-29.

76. Before the dismissal of Haynald (who rarely attended the Gubernium) in 1863, the division of Vice Presidents and councillors was ten Hungarians, five Romanians, and four Saxons. Tiszti névtár 1864, 17. Not all councillors were Referents, while some Referents were secretaries or lower functionaries. Trócsányi, 649-50.

77. POM V,3 (January 10, 1862), 186-7.

Table 5: Transylvanian Prefects Outside the Fundus  
Regius in the Provisorium

\* carryover from 1861

<u>Hungarian counties</u>	<u>főispán/administrator</u>
Alsó-Fehér	*György Pogány
Belső-Szolnok	Dániel Pataki
Doboka	Vasile Buteanu
Felső-Fehér	*Augustin Láday
Hunyad	*Baron Ferenc Nopcsa
Kolozs	Gusztáv Groisz
Küküllő	Ioan Pușcariu
Torda	István Züllich
<u>Romanian districts</u>	<u>fokapitány/administrator</u>
Făgăras	*Ioan Lemeni-Bran
Násáud	*Alexandru Bohățel
<u>Szekler districts</u>	<u>fokiralybiro/administrator</u>
Arnanyos	József Dindár
Csik	Ádám Szabó
Háromszék	Imre Dániel
Maros	Albert Horváth
Udvarhely	Gusztáv Lukács (78

In addition, the first Romanian chief of a Saxon district was appointed, Ilie Măcelariu in Reussmarkt.

Many of the appointees were Romanians and Germans, but it is incorrect to argue, as did some Hungarian contemporaries, that nearly all the resigned officials were replaced by non-Hungarians, or even that Romanians dominated the Transylvanian administration under the Provisorium.<sup>79</sup>

The property provisions in the county statute assured that Hungarians retained a comfortable majority in most county commissions, even if the prefect was a Romanian, and they put aside ideology to assure that their interests were

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78. Prefects who had not been confirmed in office by the district assembly were officially known as administrators.

79. Ürmössy, II, 16; [Domokos Teleki], Siebenbürgen und die österreichische Regierung in den letzten vier Jahren (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1865), 67-71.



80  
protected. Many Hungarians were found to replace the  
officials who resigned. The number of Romanian civil  
servants in Transylvania doubled between 1860 and 1863, but  
still only numbered 300, or one-ninth of the total, in the  
81  
latter year.

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### Criticism of the Provisorium

Romanians made important gains at all levels of the  
administration, but less than they had hoped for in the fall  
while lobbying the court for the appointment of a Romanian  
82  
as Chancellor or Governor. The Romanians' petition for  
the dismissal of Pogány, their greatest nemesis, was also  
83  
disregarded. The conventional objection to the  
appointment of Romanians, the shortage of suitable individuals,  
remained valid. "Suitable" should be understood not  
only in terms of education and training, but also property  
and social outlook. The Saxons were more satisfactory in  
all these respects, and their loyalty to the court was  
unquestioned. There was no Provisorium in the Fundus  
Regius. The Saxons enjoyed an accretion of power during the

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80. Mester, 132.

81. Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 21-2.

82. Josan 546, 552; Retegan, op. cit., 54. The only  
Romanian whom the Council of Ministers considered for Chan-  
cellor on October 29 was Baron Nopcsa, who was not on the  
deputation's list. POM V, 2, 465.

83. The Romanians of Alsó-Fehér petitioned the Emperor  
for the dismissal of Pogány on September 9, 1861. The  
document was forwarded to Kemény the next day, who requested  
a report from Mikó. MOL D228 1861/348. Șuluțiu repeated the  
request in a letter to Nádasdy on January 1, 1862. Ibid.,  
1862/70.

provisorium which, relative to their percentage of the population, was even greater than that of the Romanians.

The Schmerling years marked the high point of Saxon influence in Vienna. The number of Saxon councillors in the Gubernium and Chancellery increased, to four of nineteen in the former and two of five in the latter. Hungarian Chancellery councillors were thus in the minority for the first time. Baron Franz von Reichenstein, one of the new councillors, became Nádasdy's closest associate in the Chancellery and his deputy when he fell ill in the fall of 1863.<sup>84</sup>

Possibly of equal importance for court politics was the appointment of a Saxon to head the imperial Press Management Bureau (Press-Leitungs-Büro). This body was under the authority of Mecséry from the time of its establishment in 1860, but then from May, 1861 under that of Schmerling.<sup>85</sup> The Press Director, Count Eugen Drotlef von Friedenfels, supervised domestic and foreign press coverage and paid honoraria to journalist for articles favorable to the regime. According to his job description, he took orders from Schmerling, but was also entitled to operate "independently

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84. Sashegyi, 392-3. Reichenstein's extensive correspondence with Nádasdy and Transylvanian politicians in 1863-64, preserved in Vienna, indicates he played a crucial role in the period. According to Szász (1491), some (unidentified) contemporaries viewed Reichenstein as "the evil spirit of the Chancellery."

85. Ernst Weisenfeld, Die Geschichte der politischen Publizistik bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen (Limburg an der Lahn: Limburger Vereinsdruckerei, 1938), 73; POM V,1, 82.

and on his own initiative." At the request of Schmerling, in March, 1862 the annual budget of the Press Bureau was quadrupled to 350,000 fl., most of this to be used for influencing domestic journals.<sup>87</sup> Press questions frequently arose in the Council of Ministers, with Rechberg<sup>88</sup> complaining about liberal attacks on the conservatives.

The Saxon municipalities, allied with the German language press, sought to prod the centralist forces to a more energetic revision of the Transylvanian constitution in 1862. Three grievances gave rise to particularly sharp criticism of the moderate Provisorium regime in the Saxon and Viennese press: the retention of Haynald in the Gubernium despite his public speeches against the Diploma and Patent, the Gubernium's unfavorable treatment of an address by the Saxon Konflux of March, 1862 to the Emperor, and the continued domination of the counties by the landed aristocracy under the new statute. Mecsóéry and Nádasdy ordered an investigation of the authors of the articles,<sup>89</sup> but no measures were taken against them.

The address by the Konflux prompted a highly signifi-

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86. Weisenfeld, 73. Friedenfelds also became a councilor in the Transylvanian Court Chancellery, replacing the retiring Count Salmen, in 1863.

87. POM V,3, 303-4. At the end of 1862, Schmerling established a government press agency, the General-Korrespondenz aus Österreich, and recommended it for his colleagues' "gütige[n] Unterstützung und möglichst häufige[n] Benützung." Circular letter to Nádasdy, in MOL D228 1862/617.

88. Redlich II, 760-3.

89. MOL D228 1862/152, 208, 258, 275 (April through July, 1862). Chapter VI will devote special attention to Bishop Haynald.

cant debate, with the Saxons, not the Romanians, taking the lead in the struggle to modify the Provisorium. At the end of its session in November and December, 1861,<sup>90</sup> the Konflux elected a committee of seven to prepare a bill concerning national equality in Transylvania. The committee report declared Transylvania an integral part of the empire and hence duty bound to send deputies to the Reichsrat. The rights of the Romanians would be guaranteed by the creation of a Romanian district, partly from the Fundus Regius but primarily from the counties, in addition to Hungarian, Szekler, and Saxon districts. The assembly accepted the report in February, and formulated it as an address to the Emperor on March 29, 1862. The address ended with the declaration that the proposals were made in consciousness of the Saxons' ancestral mission of service ad retinendam<sup>91</sup> coronam.

The proposal to reorganize the districts of Transylvania was highly controversial. The Hungarian Kolozsvári Közlöny, the Romanian press, and the minority vote of Lassel in the Konflux all rightly objected that the distribution of population in Transylvania precluded equitable ethnic boundaries.<sup>92</sup> The Gubernium refused to forward

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90. Before the convocation of the Konflux on November 25, Salmen was replaced as Comes by the more popular and energetic Schmidt, and promoted to the Chancellery.

91. The address, and the dissenting opinion by the deputy of Kronstadt, August Lassel, supporting the union with Hungary, are in Sándor, 243-61.

92. Urmossy II, 21-9; Retegan, "Interferențe politice româno-săsești în perioada guvernării liberale (1860-1867)", in Studii de istorie a naționalităților conlocuitoare din România și a

the address to the Emperor, but after a storm of protest by the German press and the intervention of Schmerling the Gubernium changed its position.<sup>93</sup> On May 17 the Konflux elected a deputation to lobby for its proposal at the court. In June the delegation was celebrated with great fanfare by the Viennese press, by Schmerling and his allies, and by the German deputies in the Reichsrat.<sup>94</sup> The Emperor approved the request for a special Saxon court of appeals in Hermannstadt and for salary increases for officials, but gave no response to the remainder of the address. This would come only after several more months of political maneuvering.<sup>95</sup>

Because of its tactical alliance with the Saxons the Romanian movement in the Fundus Regius exercised moderation in its calls for greater representation. This rationale was

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înfrățirii lor cu națiunea română II (Bucuresti: Editura politică, 1981), 139. The Romanian deputy from Broos supported the motion of Lassel in the Konflux.

93. The Viennese Ost-Deutsche Post of May 15 attributed the retreat of the Gubernium to the power of the press, adding: "Warum-- wenn es erlaubt ist, zu fragen-- wird von der ungeheuren moralischen Macht [of the press] uber die reaktionären Pygmäen so gar kein Gebrauch gemacht, da doch der Erfolg ein so leichter und sicherer ist?" This certainly exaggerates the power of the press, but Nádasdy sent a copy of the article to Crenneville. MOL D228 1862/208.

94. Friedrich Teutsch, Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das Sächsische Volk vol. 3 (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1910), 415-17.

95. Ürmössy mistakenly wrote that the Romanian Chancellery councillor Dimitrie Moldovan was "totally won over to the Saxon cause." Moldovan and the two Hungarian councillors defeated a motion by the two Saxon councillors in June that the Emperor should reply to the Saxons' legislative proposals. Yet even the more general response adopted by the majority on June 20 was rejected by the Emperor. Ürmössy II, 38.

not operative in the counties, where the Hungarian-Romanian conflict continued despite the Provisorium and the delay in convening the county commissions until September, 1862.

peasant unrest led to vandalism of landlords's forests in the second half of 1862, and the incidents continued for the next few years.<sup>96</sup> Hungarian landowners and the Gubernium equally condemned such acts, but the position of the Gubernium was somewhat ambiguous since it was aware of the causes of the discontent and the involvement of many politically reliable Romanian parish priests. Thus the Gubernium appealed to the bishops to repudiate vandalism, but later rejected harsh police<sup>97</sup> measures proposed by the landowners.

The rural unrest was connected in the mind of the aristocracy with the specter of "Dacoromanism". Many attributed the expropriation of land by rebellious peasants to Papiu-Ilarian's allegation in his book that Transylvania was "a Romanian land," or ought to belong to the Romanians.<sup>98</sup> It must at least be granted that the popular book and Romanian successes in the Principalities strengthened Romanian independence and militance. The formal unification of the Romanian Principalities in early 1862

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96. Retegan, "Frământări țărănești din munții apuseni în anii guvernării liberale," Acta Musei Napocensis 12 (1975), 331-45. The Hungarian press and local officials accused Romanian politicians of instigating the vandalism, but there is no direct evidence of this. Ürmössy II, 39-40.

97. The Gubernium's letter to the bishops is in MOL F263 1861/3008 (December 18, 1861); concerning the police measures, see Kovács, Desființarea relațiilor feudale în Transilvania 94-5.

98. Ürmössy II, 40; Curticăpeanu, 431.

was celebrated by the Romanian press, and the Romanians of Kronstadt sent a congratulatory delegation to Prince Cuza.<sup>99</sup> The Principalities provided subsidies for

Transylvanian Romanian education during these years.<sup>100</sup>

Agents of the Hungarian emigration in the Principalities in 1862 reported that Dacoromanian sentiments were stronger, and readiness to collaborate with the Hungarians considerably less, than two years earlier.<sup>101</sup> In view of this and the decreasing likelihood of a renewed Franco-Italian offensive, the emigre leaders sought new ways of overcoming Romanian hostility to their movement. In April, 1862 Klapka and Kossuth formulated a plan for a Danubian Confederation with a migrating central parliament as the goal of an Hungarian-Romanian-Croatian-Serbian revolutionary alliance. What was crucial for Hungarians and Romanians: Transylvania would constitute one of the autonomous constituent states in the confederation, in personal union with Hungary, if this were accepted by a plebiscite. Through a misunderstanding, the plan appeared in the Italian press on May 18, 1862. The publication was disastrous for the popularity of the emigres among Hungarians at home, a fact which Kossuth recognized immediately. The censors in Hungary recognized this also, and allowed publication and extensive criticism of the plan in the Hungarian press

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99. Ürmösy II, 17.

100. Berindei, 237-8; documents for 1860-63 in Vasile Oltean, ed., Acte, documente, și scrisori din Șcheii Brașovului (București: Minerva, 1980), 150-9, 260-3.

101. Borsi-Kálmán, 89-93.

beginning on June 6. To submit the Transylvanian union to a plebiscite was, in the eyes of the Hungarian nationalists, unforgivable. One radical wrote in his diary that "proclamations of this sort drive people to [the Austro-Hungarian] compromise... if I must enter a Reichsrat, then I'd rather go to the Germans in Vienna than to the Serbs in Belgrade." 102 Klapka remarked prophetically:

If they [the Hungarians at home] are incapable of any concessions to the nationalities, then they shouldn't dream of independence, but come to an agreement with the Austrians. Under the paternal protection of the Habsburgs they can dispense with any concern for the Serbs and Romanians. 103

The Dualist system would indeed strengthen the hand of the Hungarians vis a vis the nationalities.

This fiasco, and dissension in the emigre leadership decisively lessened the threat of the radicals to the regime. In Transylvania, the surrender of Berzenczey to the Austrian authorities in June was demoralizing. 104 A pro-Italian demonstration at the Reformed school in Fogaras in July was an isolated incident. 105

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102. Lukács, 202-23; the quotation is from Zoltán Szász, "Donaukonföderation oder Donaumonarchie. Eine Alternative zur ungarischen Politik im 19. Jahrhundert," in Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Anzeiger 116, number 15 (1979), 22-35. The Hungarian paper that published the plan was the Sürgöny of Pest, organ of the Old Conservatives. Because only Kossuth's name appeared on the text, the reputation in Hungary of coauthor Klapka suffered relatively little damage; Szász (1488-9) mistakenly assigns sole authorship to Kossuth.

103. Cited by Szász, 1472-3.

104. Lukács, 223-33; Ürmössy II, 51-2.

105. The local commandant reported to Montenuovo on July 9 that the students waved Hungarian flags and banners inscribed "Viva i bravi fratelli della Lombardia" on the



In June and July Governor Crenneville conducted a tour of inspection in Transylvania. He reported that conditions were favorable for the convocation of the county commissions according to the statute of December, 1861.<sup>106</sup> The new prefects had appointed their officials at the beginning of 1862. To prepare for the diet, Nádasdy believed they would need to demonstrate their ability to preside over the elected commissions and thereby secure a modicum of popular legitimacy for the appointed officials. The county commissions convened on September 25, 1862, and generally<sup>107</sup> achieved this goal. Many commissions demanded a restoration of full legality, and at times the Romanians joined the Hungarian majority in opposition. This was a bearable result because the declarations were far more loyal and less radical than those issued by the counties in 1861. Even the oppositional addresses contained a different tone, calling for "the convocation of our lawful diet" (ambiguously, but probably that of Hungary) but also the "modification of the laws of 1848 [a reference to the union or the electoral law?] to the satisfaction of the various nationalities" and<sup>108</sup> even agrarian legislation.

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anniversary of the Austrian defeat in 1859. MOL D228 1862/299. The school was in the Hungarian-ruled market town of this name, not under the Romanian district administration.

106. MOL D228 1862/201, 233, 272, 277. Crenneville left Pop in charge of the Gubernium in his absence.

107. In his reply to Crenneville's seventy-page report on the commissions, Nádasdy expressed satisfaction that, "mit alleiniger Ausnahme des Thorda'er Komitates, die Haltung der Beamten der Erwartung der Regierung entsprach"-- Nádasdy to Crenneville, October 20, in MOL D228 1862/507.

108. Address to the throne of Belső-Szolnok county (the

Archduke Rainer asked Nádasdy to report on the Saxon and Romanian petitions concerning the diet in the Council of Ministers on October 10. The report on the Romanian petition was very general, and occasioned little debate. Concerning the Saxons, the address of March 29 and the Chancellery's opinion of June 20 were finally presented formally to the Council of Ministers. They received a positive reception. The imperial decree of October 13 praised the constitutional principles expressed in the Saxon address, and ordered that measures be taken for the convocation of the diet as soon as possible.<sup>109</sup>

Nadasdy submitted his proposals concerning the diet, including the electoral law that had been proposed by Vasile Pop and approved in September, 1861, and they passed on November 2, 1862.<sup>110</sup> Later in the same month the Saxon and Romanian leaders were informed that preparations for the diet had begun.<sup>111</sup> In December the Chancellery began to receive the electoral tables, calculated from the tax

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first commission to be convened), September 26, in Sandor, 268-74. Though the address insisted on the validity of the union and hence implied that only the Hungarian diet was a legal one, the the formulation was in other respects conciliatory. Ürmösy's portrayal of the commissions' sessions is misleading, particularly his statement that Nádasdy was confused and disappointed by the results. Ürmösy II, 92-103.

109. HHSA. Kabinettskanzlei 1862/3225= Council of Ministers 1862/1073. Nádasdy noted that the State Council had assisted him in the preparation of the decree. Rechberg, Forgách and Esterházy demanded that the Emperor's name not be too closely associated with the Patent, diet and Reichsrat, but were only partially successful.

110. MOL D228 1862/544.

111. Ürmösy II, 65-6.

The Hungarian ministers and members of the Gubernium offered determined opposition to the execution of Nádasdy's plans. Romanian leaders petitioned on December 2 for permission to hold a national conference, like that held in 1861, in preparation for the diet. Both they and Nádasdy desired such a conference in order to assure political discipline and unity. The Gubernium resisted such permission, arguing that it would encourage the Hungarians to demand a similar conference and strengthen Daco-Romanian tendencies. The Council of Ministers and Emperor only con-<sup>113</sup>ceded the holding of the conference in February, 1863.

The project of reform for Hungary of Apponyi and Forgách came before the Council of Ministers on March 11 and provoked more debate concerning the execution of the February Patent. Nádasdy declared that "if this program is accepted, all my efforts will have been in vain, for if the Transylvanians learn that the constitutional question is still undecided, then all that has been achieved will be<sup>114</sup> destroyed." Schmerling supported him fully. Despite the recent initiatives concerning Transylvania, the Emperor apparently remained undecided about the diet. Concurring with the Hungarian ministers and Rechberg, he declared that

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112. MOL D228 1862/615ff.

113. Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, 135. Crenneville reported that the Szeklers in fact requested permission to hold a national conference of their own, but it was denied. Crenneville to Nádasdy, January 11, 1863, in MOL F264 1863/43.

114. Redlich II, 314; HHSA KZ 924.

the international situation was too dangerous to risk poisoning public opinion in Hungary by taking "drastic measures." Schmerling replied to Rechberg: "In the long run it is untenable to rule absolutely in one part of the empire and constitutionally in the other."-- meaning that the Patent must finally be implemented ("durchgesetzt") in

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Transleithania. Faced with the threatened resignation of Schmerling and Nádasdy, the Emperor dropped the reform plan and on March 21 confirmed his approval of Nádasdy's proposal  
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of November 2 concerning the diet.

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#### The Showdown in Transylvania

The new year brought intensified political activity in Transylvania. On January 14 the Saxon Konflux reconvened in Hermannstadt. The assembly approved six laws passed by the Reichsrat in 1862, subject to imperial sanction, in order that they might be applied in the Fundus Regius. As in the case of the previous year's assembly, Hungarian public opinion and the deputies from Kronstadt objected to this expansion of the legislative prerogatives of the Nations-  
117  
universität. A further dissent from the generally progovernment tone of the assembly was the appeal by

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115. Session of March 18: Redlich II, 317-21; HHSA KZ 1074.

116. On March 21 Nadasdy instructed the Chancellery to recommence its preparations for the diet, interrupted during the Council of Ministers debate, "mit thunlichster Beschleunigung." MOL D228 1862/544.

117. The protest declaration of March 31 by the assembly of the district of Kronstadt to the Nationsuniversität is in Sándor, 291-5.

Gubernium councillor Jakob Rannicher for the election of the Comes, Konrad Schmidt, who had been appointed at the end of 1861.<sup>118</sup>

The Chancellery sought, by a renewed convocation of the county commissions at the end of March, to strengthen the moderate Hungarian party. Replying to the address of Belso-Szolnok county of the previous September, the Chancellery responded carefully, in some cases positively, to its legislative proposals, but firmly rejected the claim to the continued legality of the union.<sup>119</sup> The outcome of the commission sessions was similar to that in September: those under Romanian control formulated addresses supporting the central government, while the others repeated their usual constitutional standpoint. Some counties voted to confirm the appointed officials in office, but others refused. The alignment of the Hungarians and Romanians relative to each other was inconsistent. The general tone was oppositional, but moderate. Once again Nádasdy found reason for mild optimism.

The remaining, and perhaps most unpredictable, component of the upcoming diet were the Romanians. Their

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118. Ürmössy II, 79-84. Rannicher condemned Salmen's action in resigning before the Konflux could elect a replacement. Salmen resented the imputation of illegality at the end of his forty years as a Saxon official; see his letter to Lutheran Bishop Binder of March 15, 1863 in AS Sibiu. Episcopia evanghelică C.A. Fondul Superintendențial, 1863/224.

119. As it frequently did in 1862-63, the Chancellery solicited opinions and revisions from the State Council; Ürmössy II, 91. The text of the reply to the county by the Gubernium on March 4 is in Sándor, 283-91.

pro-government, like those of the Saxons, were not in doubt, but their gains under the Provisorium fell far short of what they had hoped for. The Romanian bishops desired that their conference demonstrate the loyalty and unity of the nation, so that the court would recognize it as an ally. The government ignored a demand by the majority of the deputies that a civil rights bill be among the requested items of legislation, but in other respects the conference of April 20-23 fulfilled its purpose.<sup>120</sup> It sent a delegation to Vienna, which was received very favorably there at the beginning of May.

Nádasdy openly stated the purpose of the diet in the Council of Ministers: "the Transylvanian diet should be so composed that the majority will be favorable to the government and send deputies to Vienna,"<sup>121</sup> the same principle which the centralists had proclaimed in 1861. The resolutions of the county commissions demonstrated that the county electoral laws of December, 1861 would not serve this purpose. The key had already been found, namely a lower tax base for the electoral law. The Chancellery and State Council prepared a new electoral law on this basis and rules of order, which were revised and approved by the Council of Ministers on April 9.<sup>122</sup> They were promulgated on April 21.

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120. Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, 136-8; Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 56; see Chapter VI.

121. Redlich II, 314.

122. The Council of Ministers had deputed a committee of five to prepare the final draft, and four of them were centralists: Mecséry, Nádasdy, Lichtenfels, Geringer;

The electoral law-- which Forgach criticized for failing to take into account Transylvania's "historical conditions"-- increased the electorate from 11,496 in 1848 to nearly 100,000.<sup>123</sup> Four-fifths of the electorate were payers of 8 fl. or more in direct tax, regardless of birth. Less than one fourth of the Transylvanian nobility were admitted to the vote. For the remainder of the electorate, various categories of professionals, including teachers and the clergy, were automatically enfranchized for the first time. Of 40,692 voters registered in the eight counties, 28,559 or 70% were Romanians: an unprecedentedly high percentage, though still below their percentage of the population.<sup>124</sup> The Romanians naturally enjoyed a secure majority of the electors in the two Romanian districts, and the Hungarians had the majority of the voters in the Szekler districts and the Hungarian towns, which voted separately for their deputies. Officials did not calculate the ethnic breakdown of the voters in the Fundus Regius, but the greater monetary wealth of the Saxons assured their dominance in the electorate there. The regalists (members

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Forgách was the fifth member. Redlich II, 329-30; HHSA Kabinettskanzlei, 1863/ 1372.

123. Redlich II, 330 cites Forgách' remark in the Council of Ministers. For the electorate in 1848 see Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 258-9, and in 1863 the voting records in MOL D228 1863/828. The source cited by Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, p. 138, on the size of the electorate accepted the tendentious estimates of 15,000 and 160,000 provided by the Gubernium in October, 1861.

124. Retegan, op. cit., 67, 257. According to Szász (1493), only one-fifth of the nobility was granted the vote.

appointed to the diet by the Emperor) had constituted two-thirds of the diet membership in 1848. They were now reduced to only forty, or one fourth of the members, over the objection of the Gubernium and of Forgách.<sup>125</sup>

Unlike in the past, the deputies would not be bound by instructions from the county and municipal assemblies that elected them, but freely elected by electoral districts having an average population of 30,000 and by the voters of the privileged towns. The size of the districts varied greatly. The population per deputy in the Fundus Regius was much smaller than in the counties, thereby increasing the number of Saxon deputies.<sup>126</sup> The electoral law and districts were designed to prevent any of the three nationalities from gaining an absolute majority. But the easier electoral requirements, increased number of deputies from the counties and the granting of deputies to several additional Romanian localities greatly improved the Romanian position compared to previous diets.

The supervision of the elections was in the hands of electoral commissions that were appointed by the county commissions and municipal assemblies. Due to the composition of the latter, Saxons and Hungarians dominated the

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125. Redlich II, 331. Rogge reports the Gubernium majority proposed that Hungarian regalists be appointed in sufficient numbers to guarantee a Hungarian majority-- Rogge II, 210. In practice only 34 regalists were actually named to the diet, divided equally among the three nationalities-- Retegan, 78, op. cit.

126. Half of the voters were in the eight counties, but they elected only 33 deputies, while the Hungarian towns elected an equal number of deputies.



electoral commissions in most of the Fundus Regius and in  
127  
six of the eight counties. The Romanians also lacked the  
social influence and electoral experience of their rivals,  
who were more experienced politicians. For the Romanians,  
the leadership provided elsewhere by the local officials and  
the property owners was offered by the clergy.

Both Şuluţiu and Şaguna published pastoral letters to  
their clergy in May concerning the elections. They ordered  
the clergy to assemble the voters at the voting places, see  
that they not divide their votes among more than one candi-  
date, and that they resist Hungarian attempts to influence  
128  
their votes by threats or favors. The Hungarian and  
Saxon bishops published no similar pastoral letters.

The Chancellery encouraged this organizing activity by  
the Romanian clergy. Romanians alleged that the Hungarians  
were seeking to lessen voter participation by claiming that  
one voter could vote in the name of all the voters in one or  
more villages, saving people the inconvenience of travel and  
loss of work. Nádasdy wrote all eight bishops in  
Transylvania on June 9 requesting that they urge all voters  
129  
in their churches to participate in the elections. Two

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127. Retegan, op. cit., 66.

128. Ibid., 68-9. Şuluţiu's circular of May 11 is in AS  
Alba Iulia. MRU, FG. 1863/393; that of Şaguna from late May  
is published in Gh. Tulbure, Mitropolitul Şaguna. Opera  
literară, scrisori pastorale, circulări şcolare, diverse  
(Sibiu: Tipografia arhidiecezane, 1938), 447-50.

129. MOL D228 1863/439. The eight bishops were Şuluţiu  
and two of his suffragan bishops, Alexi of Szamosújvár and  
Dobra of Lugos, Şaguna, Haynald, Binder, the Reformed Bishop  
Bodola and the Unitarian Bishop Kriza.

of the Romanian bishops replied with assurances that they  
130  
were taking the necessary measures. Șuluțiu apparently  
took primary responsibility for the Romanian voters in the  
counties. He issued another, even more detailed pastoral  
131  
letter concerning the elections on June 15.

The Hungarian bishops apparently made no written  
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response to Nádasdy's appeal. Bishop Binder was more  
forthcoming than his Hungarian colleagues. He sent a confi-  
dential letter to all the Lutheran deans, calling on them to  
use discretely all their influence to ensure the election of  
deputies "of proven loyalty to the government and to  
133  
imperial unity." The centralist, pro-government attitude  
of the Saxon voters was only in doubt in the district of  
Kronstadt. Nádasdy wrote separately to the loyal Bishop  
Binder concerning the Hungarophile sentiments of the rural  
population there, accusing some of the Lutheran clergy of  
134  
indifference to the government's desires. The dean of

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130. Telegram of Șaguna to Nádasdy, June 12 (MOL D228  
1863/455), letter of Dobra to Nádasdy, June 13 (MOL D228  
1863/479), letter of Șaguna to Nádasdy, June 14 (MOL D228  
1863/485). Bishop Alexi was mortally ill, and died on June  
29.

131. Sándor, 297-300, and AS Alba Iulia, MRU FG  
1863/449.

132. The letter of Nádasdy is preserved in Alba Iulia, ERC  
1863/1587, (Categoria 35), and Cluj-Napoca. Episcopia  
reformată, Püspöki levéltár 1863/529. Neither archive indi-  
cates any action was taken. The Unitarian Consistory does  
not indicate any action in connection with the election, and  
I was unable to view the personal papers of Bishop Kriza.

133. Ms. "Rundschreiben /VII/ jedoch an die Dechanten  
allein," undated. AS Sibiu. Episcopia evanghelică C.A.  
Fondul Superintendențial 1863/327.

134. Nádasdy to Binder, June 3, in AS Sibiu, loc. cit.  
1863/323, also in HHSA Nachlass Reichenstein. Box 1b, II  
Reservats-Präsidialakten 1863-65.

the most oppositional region of the district, Țara  
Bîrsei/Burzenland, reported that he called the Saxon clergy  
together and urged them to use their influence with their  
parishioners. They convinced the members of three parishes  
to vote for the government candidate, but failed in most of  
the others.<sup>135</sup>

The Romanian and Saxon clergy were useful to the  
government in the electoral campaign. Following the  
explicit directives in the bishops' pastoral letters and  
personal instructions, the Romanian parish clergy assembled  
the largely illiterate voters, ordered them to vote for the  
candidate designated by the Permanent National Committee in  
Hermannstadt, and in many cases personally led them to the  
polling-places. The Hungarian press and contemporaries  
charged that the clergy controlled voting behavior by  
threats of anathema (afurisenie), but no impartial observers  
confirmed this and it was naturally denied by the  
Romanians.<sup>136</sup>

The campaigning of the the Saxon clergy was less con-  
troversial, in part because it rarely involved contests  
against the Hungarians but also because the greater  
education and wealth of the Saxon clergy and voters could  
not be denied.<sup>137</sup> The Lutheran clergy were highly educated  
and used their oratorical skills effectively in collabora-

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135. Friedrich Philippi to Binder, Prejmer, June 27, in AS  
Sibiu, loc. cit., 1863/376.

136. Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 72-3;  
Ürmössy II, 113-14.

137. See Chapter IV.

tion with the lay professional politicians.

Hungarian cultural and political leadership was firmly in the hands of the nobility and its allies in the urban municipalities. But in the countryside, their higher education and moral leadership gave the Hungarian clergy considerable influence among those Hungarian peasant voters enfranchised for the first time. The Romanian press recorded cases in Alsó-Fehér where the Reformed clergy threatened Hungarian supporters of the Romanian candidate<sup>138</sup> with exclusion from the congregation. A writer in the Szekler region reported that the Szekler voters-- like the Romanians in other areas-- entered Kézdivásárhely under the leadership of two local pastors, one Roman Catholic and one Reformed, holding a banner with the portrait of Count Imre Mikó,<sup>139</sup> a local candidate.

The Gubernium reported the registered voters, turnout, and results of the election, which took place during the final days of June and the beginning of July. These are<sup>140</sup> the aggregate results:

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138. Retegan, op. cit., 74.

139. György Szentiványi to Mikó, Sepsi Szentivány, July 4, in AS Cluj-Napoca. Fondul Muzeul Ardelean, Corespondența Mikó Imre 1863/52.

140. The report accompanied Crenneville's letter to Nádasdy of July 31 (Gubernium Presidium 1863/4072) in MOL D228 1863/828. The electoral data was missing for the Hungarian market town of Mócs and for one electoral district in the counties. I excluded two electoral districts in the counties from the averages because of incomplete data.

Table 6: Voting in the Election of 1863: Registered Voters, Turnout, and Deputies by Region and Nationality

	Reg.v.	Voting	Turnout	Dep	Reg.v/dep	R	H	S
a) 26 Hungarian Towns								
5 Free Towns	2409	1466	60.9%	10	240.9		10	
3 Noble Towns	646	437	67.6	3	215.3		3	
18 Market Towns	936	1718	88.7	19	107.8	3	15	1
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Total	4991	3399	72.6	32	161.0	3	28	1
b) Noble Counties and Districts								
8 Counties	46901	39145	83.9	33	1421.2	30	2	1
2 Rom. Distr.	4191	3269	78.0	5	838.2	5		
c) Szekler Region								
5 Districts	9104	6513	71.5	13	700.3		13	
d) Fundus Regius								
8 Free Towns	4807	3327	69.2	16	300.4	1		15
1 Market Town	108	72	66.7	1	108	1		
11 Districts	18929	14512	76.7	25	757.2	8	1	16
	<u>89031</u>	<u>70459</u>	<u>79.3</u>	<u>125</u>	<u>718.0</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>33</u>

Thanks to the differing size of the electoral districts and to the tax requirement, the Romanian deputies were fewer than the Romanian percentage of the population, and the Saxons more. The overrepresentation of the Saxons came at the expense of the Romanians in the Fundus Regius. The apportionment of mandates in the counties was equitable. From the Hungarian standpoint, however, the results in the counties were the most unprecedented and worrisome aspect of the election.

The high voter turnout in the huge electoral districts of the counties reflected the high level of politicization and discipline of the Romanian voters. The contest was social as well as national; the opposing candidates in many districts were a baron or count versus a commoner. The Romanian press reported that in some districts the Hungarian

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 141. The Romanians also hotly contested the elections in some of the market towns, most of which were Hungarian islands in Romanian surroundings.

peasantry voted for the Romanian candidate against the  
Hungarian aristocrat.<sup>142</sup> The Romanians' success far  
exceeded their influence in the local administration, and  
gave a stronger "message" to the Hungarian opposition than  
had the introduction of the Provisorium.<sup>143</sup>

After the nomination of 33 regalists, the proportions  
at the opening of the diet on July 15 were 58 Romanians, 56  
Hungarians, and 44 Saxons.<sup>144</sup> Fifteen Romanians and five  
Saxons were clergymen, and 36 Romanians and 22 Saxons were  
civil servants.<sup>145</sup> The profile of the 44 Hungarian deputies  
was very different. Only one was a clergyman, seventeen  
bore the title of baron or count, and the leading families  
of Bethlen, Kemény, Mikó and Bánffy were represented by  
three members each. For the Hungarians, the prospect of  
constituting a minority in the diet had been the implicit,  
rarely expressed dilemma for the past two years beyond the  
customary rhetoric about constitutional legality. Would the

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142. Retegan, Dieta românească a Transilvaniei, 73.  
The electoral data are inconclusive in this regard. In 21  
electoral districts in the counties where identifiably  
Hungarian and Romanian candidates opposed each other, voter  
turnout was 84.7%, and 76.9% of the votes were cast for the  
Romanian candidate, while 70.2% of the registered electorate  
in the counties were Romanians. A higher rate of abstention  
by registered Hungarian voters could account for the  
difference, however.

143. The electoral committees of Alsó-Fehér denied the  
certification of the Romanians elected in four districts,  
but eventually certified three of them on orders from the  
Gubernium. Retegan, op. cit., 74-6; MOL D228 1863/828.

144. Retegan, op. cit., 78.

145. Szász, 1496. Ürmössy and Szász point out that only ten  
Romanian and Saxon members were independently employed. This  
contrasted with the Hungarian deputies, but only because the  
Hungarian politicians had been excluded from office or resigned  
during the Provisorium due to their political views.

Hungarians attend the diet to protect their interests there? The police reported in March that while the Hungarian radicals favored a boycott of the diet, Deák advised the Hungarians to attend. He reasoned that if the Hungarians behaved in a moderate fashion the prospects of a new Hungarian diet and a compromise solution might be improved. 146

The more radical Hungarians advocated a boycott of the diet, and they won out. On the eve of the diet, the deputies met in the Hermannstadt home of one of their number, Count Benedek Mikes, in the presence of the Hungarian opposition leaders Kálmán Tisza and Count Gyula Andrássy. Tisza and Andrássy advised the deputies not to enter the diet. 147

The only known, abbreviated protocol of their meetings does not indicate the presence of Tisza or Andrassy. It demonstrates the boycotters' decisive motivation was that, as a minority in the diet, they feared they could not pass the legislation they desired. Their constitutional strictures were only an afterthought. 148

Secret consultations of the Hungarian, Saxon and Romanian deputies at this time were unsuccessful. 149

The Hungarian and Szekler deputies and eight of the eleven regalists issued declarations to the Emperor and to the diet announcing the

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146. Mecséry to Nádasdy, March 23, 1863 in MOL D228 1863/182.

147. Szász, 1494-5. Contemporaries assumed that the politicians from Budapest instigated the boycott-- Retegan, op. cit., 83; Ürmösy II, 117; Police of Kassa to Mecséry, July 31, in HHSA, Informationsbüro 1863/7235 (Elenchus 79).

148. The protocol, by Salamon Gajzágó of Szamosújvár, is in OSzK, Fol.Hung. 1430.

149. Ioan Pușcariu, 74-5.

boycott. The declarations, while couched in very loyal terms, insisted that the laws of 1848 and earlier were the only legal basis for constitutional liberty and for the rights of the nationalities.<sup>150</sup>

The Emperor's immediate rejection of the boycott declaration apparently surprised the moderate leaders Haynald, Kemény, and Mikó, who had thought they could hope for support in high places. Imperial dissatisfaction centered particularly on Haynald, who was dismissed from his position on the Gubernium and pressured to resign from his episcopal see. At the end of December he finally did so.<sup>151</sup>

The Hungarian arguments in favor of the boycott had little effect on the Saxons and Romanians. The Saxons of Kronstadt district, were, once again, an exception; their two deputies joined the Hungarian boycott. As proposed by Pop in August, 1861, the first three articles of legislation (königliche Propositionen) were for the constitutional equality (Inartikulierung) of the Romanian nation and religion, the use of the Hungarian, German, and Romanian languages in administration, and procedural matters at the diet.<sup>152</sup> The passage of the first two bills in the course of August and September was a great symbolic victory for the

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150. Published in Sandor, 309-17.

151. The Viennese police reported special displeasure at the court at the behavior of Haynald-- Report of August 3, in HHSA, Informationsbüro 1863/7347 (Elenchus 204). On the abdication of Haynald, see Chapter VI.

152. The articles were listed in the convocation rescript of April 21 (Sándor, 295-7) and in the opening speech from the throne presented on July 15 (Sándor, 330-8.



the Romanian national movement.

Despite this success, there were secret contacts between Romanian and Hungarian radicals in the summer of 1863. The police reported considerable sympathy for the Hungarian radicals among the Romanians of Máramaros county, north of Transylvania in Hungary. At the same time they reported the Romanians had received proclamations from Prince Cuza ordering them to support, if it took place, a Romanian insurrection aiming at the unification of Transylvania with Romania. Agitators reportedly distributed the proclamation in Transylvania and called on the Romanians to boycott the Reichsrat, but no copy of this proclamation<sup>153</sup> has been preserved.

Renewed negotiations between Cuza and the Hungarian emigration seemed to provide a military basis for this threat. General Türr arrived in Bucharest and secured an audience with Cuza on May 28. His attempts to gain Romanian support for a small incursion into Transylvania were unsuccessful, however. Türr was unwilling to offer any guarantees concerning the Transylvanian Romanians, and Cuza made this a precondition of a military undertaking.<sup>154</sup> Austrian speculations that the Hungarian emigres had conceded Cuza's

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153. Police of Kassa to Mecséry, June 13, in HHSA, Informationsbüro 1863/5479 (Elenchus 79) and Românii la 1859. Unirea principatelor române în conștiința europeană I (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1984), 573; Plener to Nádasdy, July 15, in MOL D228 1863/824.

154. R.V. Bossy, L'Autriche et les Principautés-Unies (Bucharest: Moniteur officiel, 1938), 94-6; Curticăpeanu, 433-5.

rule of Transylvania in exchange for full support of an  
insurrection were apparently unfounded.<sup>155</sup>

Differences did exist among the Romanian deputies concerning the election of deputies to the Reichsrat. Austrian police reported Türr secured the commitment of several Romanian boiars in the Principalities to lobby in Transylvania against participation there.<sup>156</sup> The militant faction in the diet, led by Şuluţiu, sought to delay the election. Nádasdy and Reichenstein were very concerned about the influence of Papiu-Ilarian, who visited Hermannstadt in August and September, on this group. His goal, Nádasdy wrote, was to either to prevent the election of deputies to the Reichsrat or to exact a high price in political gains for the Romanians.<sup>157</sup> The factional difference among the Romanians-- between the unconditional centralists led by Şaguna and the nationalists under Şuluţiu-- continued after Papiu's departure from Hermannstadt, however.<sup>158</sup> Only after the passage of the

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155. This rumor was transmitted by the Austrian Consul in Constantinople, Count Ludolf, on July 4 and repeated by Rechberg in a letter of July 9: Bossy 356, 358; see also Borsi-Kálmán, 145-7.

156. Anonymous report appended to Mecséry to Nádasdy, June 17, citing an intercepted letter of Türr-- HHSA Informationsbüro 1863/5433 (Elenchus 344); Türr appealed to the Romanians in the Daco-Romanian organ in Bucharest, Românul, to refuse participation in the Reichsrat-- Szász, 1501.

157. Ploeşteanu, 7; Nádasdy to Reichenstein, September 7, in HHSA, Nachlass Reichenstein. Box 1b, Korrespondenz Reichensteins, besonders mit Nádasdy, number 11.

158. Anonymous report from the diet, September 13, in Nachlass Reichenstein, Box 1b. II. Reservats-Präsidialakten 1863-65, number 52.

diet's priority legislation at the end of September was it possible to commence the election of deputies to the

159 Reichsrat. In view of Austria's poor relations with Romania, it is difficult to credit a Moldavian aristocrat's claim that the Romanians entered the Reichsrat on instructions from Cuza. 160 Cuza himself assured the Hungarian emigres a year later that he had never conducted "propaganda" among the Transylvanian Romanians. 161

The entry of the 26 Transylvanian deputies into the Lower House of the the Reichsrat 162 on October 20, 1862 was the greatest, perhaps only substantial victory of Schmerling's Hungarian policy. By implementing the February

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159. The Emperor gave the order to commence the election of deputies to the Reichsrat on September 27-- Sándor, 325-8. Şuluţiu chaired the committee which prepared the diet's response of October 5 to the imperial rescript.

160. Prince Dimitrie Cantacuzino, a Moldavian boyar with connections in Bucharest and Transylvania, informed an advisor of Schmerling that the Transylvanian Romanians "regarded Cuza as their prince," but assured him that Cuza had "instructed" the Romanians to enter the Reichsrat. Julius Fröbel, Ein Lebenslauf. Aufzeichnungen, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse II (Stuttgart: Verlag der J. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1891), 301. Fröbel was Schmerling's most loyal journalistic ally and advisor on German policy; see Redlich II, 384. Cantacuzino was Fröbel's brother in law, a moderate liberal with business ties to the Szekler region; see Imreh, "Legăturile dintre Breţcu şi Moldova în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in Viata cotidiana la secui (Bucuresti: Kriterion, 1982), 376-9. I have seen no evidence of such an instruction by Cuza other than the recollection by Fröbel.

161. Seherthoss to Klapka, August 8, 1864, in Borsi-Kálmán, "Klapka, Cuza és Arthur Seherthoss: 1864. (Szemelvények egy 19. századi magyar-román megegyezési kísérlet dokumentumaiból)," Századok 119 (1985), 827.

162. The deputies included thirteen Romanians (four clergymen), ten Saxons (one cleric) and three Hungarians (one cleric), and nine appointees to the Upper House. The latter included four bishops (Şaguna, Şuluţiu, Binder, and Titular Bishop Fogarasy). Kutschera, 131.

patent in Transylvania, he was able to proclaim that the Reichsrat was no longer "narrow," but represented the entire empire and was hence fully entitled to approve the budget and other empire-wide matters. The Transylvanian deputies soon realized the ambiguity of this victory and of their position in the Reichsrat. Schmerling faced growing opposition in that body, not only from conservative federalists who had criticized the Patent from the beginning but also from German liberals. They derisively referred to the pro-government loyalists as Schmerling's puppets ("Statisten"). Most of the Saxon and Romanian deputies remained on the side of the government, but a few Romanian and Saxon liberals joined the liberal opposition to Schmerling in the Reichsrat sessions of 1864-65.

The constitutional experiment in Transylvania continued until Schmerling's fall in June, 1865, but with no new initiatives. The Emperor nullified the mandates of the eight boycotting Hungarian regalists at the end of July, 1863. He ordered four successive rounds of elections to replace the boycotting deputies from August, 1863 to August, 1864.<sup>163</sup> Despite considerable administrative pressure, the winners of the elections refused their seats in the diet in all but three cases. Bishop Haynald, once his status as a regalist had been revoked, won an election in the Armenian-Hungarian city of Erzsebetvaros, and declined his seat there,

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<sup>163</sup>. Vortrag of Nádasdy, July 23, in MOL D228 1863/648; Szász 1497.

as well. The court found several new Hungarian regalists who agreed to take their seats, including the Unitarian dean of Rimetea, Antal Koronka, the Roman Catholic dean of Csíkrákos Jeremiás Eránosz, and the Roman Catholic Canon and Titular Bishop in Oradea, Mihály Fogarasy.<sup>164</sup>

The prospects for a successful diet in Hungary and Croatia did not improve after the Austrian success in Transylvania. The lack of further progress undermined the Emperor's confidence in Schmerling, who was forced onto the defensive by the clericals and conservatives at court, the so-called "camarilla led by Móríc Esterházy." Symbolic of this defensive posture, Schmerling was unable after mid-1863 to add to the modest list of liberal legislation he had sponsored in the Reichsrat in his first two years concerning justice, church affairs and education.<sup>165</sup> His ability to control the Reichsrat had been his saving grace for Franz Joseph, so when this disintegrated he became expendable. As his star fell in the Reichsrat, it fell also at court.

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Anton von Schmerling sought to weaken the influence of

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164. Kutschera, 123 confuses Koronka with Gubernium councillor László Koronka and incorrectly refers to Eránosz as a Romanian, p. 131. On Eránosz and Fogarassy, see Chapter VI.

165. In May, 1863 a secular imperial education council was established under the direction of the former President of the Lower House of the Reichsrat. Ostensibly its competence included Transleithania, but it had little power there. As signs of Schmerling's declining influence in 1864 Rogge cites the dismissal of his ally Degenfeld, and the transfer of Schmerling's own brother, a high official in the War Ministry, out of Vienna. Rogge II, 198-200.

Hungarian radicalism in Transylvania by assuring the continued hegemony of the aristocracy in much of the province. This goal inspired the restoration of constitutional administration in the noble counties and Szekler districts in 1861, and also the relative moderation of the Transylvanian Provisorium (suspension of the constitution) by comparison to the Provisorium in Hungary.

Policymakers were also determined to secure the adherence of the Saxons and Romanians to the "February Constitution" or Patent of 1861. Therefore the autonomy of the Fundus Regius was restored, and under the Provisorium Saxons attained an unprecedented degree of influence in Vienna, on the provincial level and in local legislation. But the alliance with the Saxons was ultimately inadequate for Vienna's purposes, and the price of extending it to the Romanians was the expansion of the electorate. Debate on the electoral reform lasted more than two years. The law's enactment in April, 1863 ensured the Hungarians would be in the minority in the subsequent diet. This was the actual, though not the publicly admitted motivation for the Hungarian boycott of the diet in July, 1863. The potential collaboration of the Transylvanian Romanians with the increasingly independent Romania of Prince Cuza, and even with the Hungarian emigres, was an extra incentive for the concessions they were granted in 1862-62.

Bishops and clergymen played a prominent role in the electoral and dietal politics of 1863. An examination of

why this was the case must begin with a profile of the common features of the religious communities of Transylvania.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### CLERICAL CULTURE, POPULAR RELIGION AND SECULARIZATION

#### Introduction

The involvement of religious sentiment and the clergy in Transylvanian politics is much more extensive than a mere record of circulars, speeches, and electoral behavior would imply. Bishops, clergy and laity pursued institutional goals in society, and also intraecclesial objectives that could place them in conflict with each other. But where does politics stop and religion begin? All religious conviction, inasmuch as it brings adherence to an institution and social group and to an ethical system, involves social relations and activism. This chapter will investigate three important aspects of religious identity that are not overtly political, although all had political implications: the social position of the clergy, the relationship between official and popular religion, and the impact of liberalism and the new secular culture.

Religion forms the third structural element-- after the secular administration and the socioeconomic strata-- center of this study. The variety of forms that religion takes in society point out the necessity for a broad definition of the term. Religious identity implies acceptance of symbols, which are forms of expression "that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of disparate meanings, evoke sentiments and



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emotions, and impel men to action." Religion is a system of symbols which establishes a transcendent order of existence and by vividness compels the individual to accept it. It is religion's public ceremonial practices or ritual which make vivid and reinforce the conviction of the reality of its concepts.<sup>2</sup> The connection of faith and ritual provides a partial explanation of the influence of the clergy-- the leader of public ceremonies-- in the different religious traditions. This definition is less relevant in those traditions which accord no prominent place to ritual. But generally, the distinctive symbols of the religious communities contribute to their confessional and ethnic identity, as groups of people who share certain religious experiences and attitudes toward existence.

The six major churches in Transylvania fall into two major categories, which Max Weber has labelled ritualistic or magical and rationalistic religion. Sacramental practices are a powerful element in the ritualistic religions, while the rationalistic religions consider ritual less essential and emphasize preaching. Mere preaching and theology are intellectual activities accessible to the laity,

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1. Abner Cohen, Two-Dimensional Man. An Essay on the Anthropology of Power and Symbolism in Complex Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), ix, 84.

2. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89-90, 109-14. For a general discussion of ritual in a contemporary Romanian village of Maramures (not historical Transylvania), see Gail Kligman, The Wedding of the Dead. Ritual, Poetics, and Popular Culture in Transylvania (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 9-13 and passim.

while the public leadership of ritual is the special domain of the clergy. Consequently the "ritualistic" churches accord a greater role to their clergy in organization and everyday practice.<sup>3</sup>

Succeeding chapters of my study of the clergy in politics will concentrate on the three "ritualistic" churches in Transylvania, the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic (Uniate) and Orthodox. These churches explicitly maintain the apostolic succession of the clergy, i.e. its uninterrupted descent from the early church through ordination by competent bishops. The clergy celebrated a complex liturgy in a foreign (Latin) or archaic vernacular language with strong symbolic and aesthetic elements and administered various sacraments. The pastor or bishop also had administrative responsibility for educational and economic matters in his jurisdiction. This multiple authority often made him the dominant personality in the local community and the intermediary of the secular administration. The responsibility of the Protestant ministers was almost exclusively pastoral, and his sacramental role much less. Economic and educational matters were under the administration of lay elders (G. Curator, H. gondnok, R. curator, gociman) and presbyteries or councils in the Protestant churches to a far greater degree than in the others.

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3. Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), 75, 97, and passim.

## The Clergy in Society

The clergy in Transylvania, as conventionally defined, numbered 3694 in the Hungarian census of 1869-70.<sup>4</sup> This number apparently did not include the roughly equal number of persons in subordinate clerical grades such as deacons and associate pastors or chaplains (H. káplánok, segédlelkészek), or parish functionaries such as cantors, sacristans (H. egyházfiak) and bellringers and, assistant parsons (segédlelkészek) and preachers (Prediger). The episcopate and parish clergy of the more narrow definition were the more or less uncontested elite of the local religious communities, endowed with special training and religious authority. Despite this basic similarity, the churches' clergy differed in terms of their selection, education, status, and financial means.

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4. A magyar korona országaiban az 1870. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei a hasznos házi állatok kimutatásával együtt (Pest: Athenaeum, 1871), 314. An official tabulation in 1844 listed 4619 clergymen and 138 seminarians and priest candidates (Budapest. MOL. F551. Klerus in Siebenbürgen im Jahr 1844), while Elek Fényes indicated for 1855 about 4006 clergymen plus 102 seminarians, priest candidates and novices, citing no data for the Orthodox monks, seminarians and novices (Elek Fényes, Az ausztriai birodalom statistikája és földrajzi leírása, I (Pest: Heckenast, 1857), 218-27). The tabulation of subordinate grades of clergy, the declining population of Transylvania's thirty-seven monasteries, and the cession by Transylvania of one-tenth of its population and area (the Partium) to Hungary in may 1861 account for the differing totals. The English term "clergy" excludes female members of religious orders but includes male ones: Robert C. Broderick, The Catholic Encyclopedia (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., 1976), 119-20.

Table 7: Churches and Clergy in Transylvania, 1850

Religion	A	%	B	C	D	A:D
Gr. Cath.	648,239	31.4	1367	474.2	1481	437.7
Orthodox	637,800	30.9	814	783.5	973	655.5
Reformed	295,723	14.3	694	426	785	376.7
R. Cath.	219,533	10.6	205	1070.8	361	608
Unitar.	46,008	2.2	106	434		
Lutheran	198,774	9.6	269	738.9	296	671.5

A= Members; B= Parishes; C=Average Size; D=Clergymen 5

The method of selecting the parish clergy and bishops differed from the ritualistic to the Protestant churches, with the increasing employment of election in the latter group. Roman Catholic bishops were nominated by the monarch and confirmed by the Vatican, while the Greek Catholic synods (periodic assemblies of the leading diocesan clergy) nominated three candidates for bishop and the monarch was free to choose one of them. Orthodox synods as well as those of the Protestants elected the bishops, who were then confirmed by the monarch. Local clerical leaders (pastors, parsons) were generally nominated by the local congregations, except in the Roman Catholic Church. Various forms of clerical election was applied in Romanian parishes. Many

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5. Fényes, Az ausztriai birodalom statistikája és földrajzi leírása, II, 22-7 and MOL, F551, "Landesübersicht [Census] vom Jahre 1850." Of the Roman Catholic clergymen, 221 were diocesan and 140 were members of religious orders; the latter were not assigned to individual parishes, and subtracting their number from column D the figure for the final column is 993.

6. Retegan informed me of instances in which the Greek Catholics of Năsăud and Orthodox of Bran conducted formal elections of their pastors. Charles Boner reported in 1865 that Orthodox pastors were still chosen locally and then confirmed by the bishop: Charles Boner, Transylvania; its products and its people (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1865), 370. Seminary education and appointment by the bishop were becoming more general in this period, however. István Imreh notes that in practice church, state and local officials in the Szekler region guarded their right to

parishes and congregations were economically supported to some degree by a patron (a landowner, local or state body that built and repaired the school and paid the salary of the priest, minister or teacher) who was entitled to name the presiding minister. About a quarter of the Roman Catholic, and a small percentage of the Greek Catholic, parishes were entitled to elect their pastors by right of their economic patronage.

Celibacy was required of the Roman Catholic clergy and practiced by a small minority of the Greek Catholic clergy, while the parish clergy of all the other churches was married.<sup>7</sup> Clerical marriage contributed very often to the training, or at least nomination, of the clergy: when priests' and ministers' sons succeeded to their fathers' social status and position, election or appointment by the bishop was only a formality.<sup>8</sup>

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influence the elections there; A törvényhozó székely falu (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1983), 105-7.

7. Thirty of the 751 pastors in the Archdiocese of Blaj were celibate in 1862. Sterca-Șuluțiu to Crenneville, January 31, 1862: AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG, 1862/47. All but two of the fifteen canons of the two Greek Catholic Cathedral Chapters in Transylvania, the bishops, and the small number of monks in the Romanian churches were also celibate.

8. In 1865 there were at least 34 cases in the Greek Catholic Archdiocese of Blaj in which two or more pastors in the same deanery shared the same surname, and five cases in which the pastor and curate of a parish shared the same surname, out of 38 deaneries and 719 parishes-- Siematismulu veneratului cleru catholicu de ritu orientale alu Archiepiscopiei Metropolitane a Albei-Julie pre anulu dela nascerea lui Christosu 1865 (Blasiu: Tipariulu Seminariului Archiepiscopescu, 1865). Variations of "Pop" and "Pap" were very common Romanian and Hungarian surnames. Two Unitarian church districts submitted complaints to the presbytery in 1859 concerning nepotism in the lay and clerical positions

The "inheritance" of parishes was especially true in the case of the Romanian clergy, with its more limited economic means and educational opportunities. The first seminary for the Greek Catholic Romanians of Transylvania opened in Blaj in 1754, and a second one in 1760; a third one opened in 1859 at the seat of the new diocese of Szamosujvar.<sup>9</sup> The course of studies at the Blaj seminary after the two there were united in the late eighteenth century was three years, increasing in 1832 to four years. The seminary did not produce sufficient priests for all the parishes, so that many (the so-called "moralists") were trained at simple two-year courses at rural schools or half-year courses in Blaj. As late as the 1850s a large proportion of the new appointments to parishes were "moralists."<sup>10</sup> Until 1811 most Orthodox priests were trained at the scattered Orthodox monasteries in Transylvania, at Serbian ones or in the Danubian Principalities, or with their fathers. In 1811 the first Orthodox seminary courses were established

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in their districts, and it was debated at the assembly the next year, but the presbytery took no action. Cluj-Napoca. Episcopia unitariană. Egyházképviseleti tanács jegyzőkönyve, 1861/93.

9. Mircea Păcurariu, Istoria bisericii ortodoxe române (București: Editura Institutului biblic și de misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1981), 253-4.

10. Biserica Romana Unita. Doua sute cinci zeci de ani de istorie (Madrid: Rivadeneydra, 1952), 111-12; A magyarországi románok egyházi, iskolai, közművelődési, közgazdasági intézményeinek és mozgalmainak ismertetése (Budapest: Urania, 1908), 50. Suluțiu reported in 1858 that his clergy divided into two very different groups according to training. He stated that more than thirty pastors in any one year were unqualified for their positions. Suluțiu to Minister Thun, December 3, 1858, in MOL. F258, 203. csomó, 1859/2238.

at the seat of the bishop in Hermannstadt, first with a length of six months, after 1846 one year, after 1852 two<sup>11</sup> years, and after 1861 three years. No comprehensive appraisal of the clergy's educational level has been made. That of the Greek Catholics may have been superior to that of the Orthodox, but the differential was decreasing.

The educational level of the other churches' clergy was superior, due to longer courses and wealthier, better-appointed seminaries. The seminary at the seat of the Roman Catholic bishopric in Gyulafehérvár opened in 1753. In the nineteenth century it had a four-year course of studies that was required of most candidates for ordination and appoint-<sup>12</sup>ment to a parish in Transylvania. In the 1860s the annual expenditure of the seminary for some forty seminarians<sup>13</sup> was over 20,000 fl. Candidates for the office of parson (G. Pfarrer, H. lelkész) in the three Protestant churches completed the four-year theological course of studies at one of the Protestant secondary schools. The one Unitarian and four Reformed "colleges" (Főtanodák) and two Reformed, two Unitarian, and five or six Lutheran high schools (Gymnasien,

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11. Hitchins, The Rumanian National Movement, 142-3; Pacurariu, 245-6. The tabulation of those studying for the priesthood in 1844, possibly incomplete, was thirty-six Greek Catholics, thirty-eight Roman Catholics, with four outside the seminary, and sixty Orthodox, all outside the seminary. Budapest, MOL. F551. "Klerus in Siebenbürgen im Jahr 1844."

12. Antal Beke, Az Erdély egyházmegyei papnövelde történeti vázlat (Károly-Fehérvár: Nyomtatott a püspöki könyvnyomdában, 1870), 25, 84.

13. Ibid., 77, 111.

Közép-Tanodák) were the wealthiest and most prestigious educational institutions in Transylvania. Study at a Central European university was a virtual requirement for candidacy to the wealthiest congregations. Candidacy to the Lutheran and, after mid-century, the Orthodox positions required a number of years of previous teaching experience, as well.<sup>15</sup> Charles Boner remarked that the Saxon professors and clergy were "the best-informed men in the country," required to study two or three years at a German university or in Vienna. The parsons, having first served as high school professors in some scholarly field, were the leading Saxon historians, ethnographers, and natural scientists.<sup>16</sup>

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 14. Erdély Nagy-Fejedelemség hivatali tisztii névtára az 1864-dik évre, 108-17, Fényes, 284 lists only the Unitarian and three of the Reformed colleges as Protestant theological institutes in Transylvania.

15. Benkő Samu, "Beke Sámuel élete és halála," A helyzettudat változásai (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1977), 149-51; Richard Schuller, "Der evangelisch-sächsische Pfarrer in seiner kulturgeschichtlichen Bedeutung," Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen, I (Hermannstadt: Krafft & Drotleff, 1928), 283-88; Friedrich Teutsch, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen, II (Hermannstadt: W.Krafft, 1921), 404; Păcurariu, 246.

16. Boner, 53-6. Boner frequently stayed at Saxon parsonages during his travels, and praises them repeatedly. He enjoyed the financial support of the Austrian government and the assistance of local officials during his visit to Transylvania in 1863-64 as a correspondent of the London Daily News. Draft of letter from the Transylvanian Court Chancellery to Governor Crenneville and General Montenuovo, September 17, 1863, in AS Sibiu, Fondul Eugen Friedenfels, XIV/202 and *ibid.*, Polizeidirektion Hermannstadt, Passanten-Protocol pro 1862-1864: 1863/205 (October 10-19) and 1864/69 (April 19); Frobel, II, 217. Boner's professed astonishment at the fact that his arrival in a locality was often known in advance (eg. 422) may be disingenuous, and his sympathy for the Saxon political position and for the centralist regime is explicit. But contemporary and later Hungarian allegations that he was an "Austrian spy" (cf. Tibor Frank, The British Image of Hungary 1865/1870



In all parishes and congregations, the school teachers and other employees were supervised by the pastor or parson. Conflicts between the two sides were common. Their training was very different, and in the case of the Romanians that of the teacher was often superior; yet the clergy controlled the school curriculum, facilities and salaries. The insistence of the lay intellectuals on educational progress, political differences and resentment of "clericalism" also played their part.<sup>17</sup> Subordinate clergy were less mobile and more dependent on the pursestrings of the pastor, and occasionally complained of his miserliness to the bishop.<sup>18</sup>

Prior to the revolution of 1848 the Catholic clergy of

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(Budapest: Department of English, L.Eötvös University, 1976), 104, 146, 314) do not reduce the value of his book for those aspects of Transylvanian society with which he was familiar.

17. Such disputes naturally multiplied during periods of political conflict such as the 1860s, and the archives reveal many during this period. The leading Saxon and Romanian writers of fiction about village life produced portrayals of the teacher's conflict with the clergy or with traditional attitudes, for example in Die Dorfschule (1866), by Michael Albert, and Împăcare (1916), by Ion Agarbiceanu; both writers were village clergymen. The Lutheran clergy was prominent among the authors and subjects of Saxon village fiction; see Michael Markel, "Zuordnungsfragen der siebenbürgischen Dorfliteratur," Transsylvania 2. Studien zur deutschen Literatur aus Siebenbürgen (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1982), 9-70.

18. One such case is in the correspondence of Prediger Roth, parson Schullerus and Bishop Binder of September and November, 1861, in AS Sibiu. Episcopia Evanghelică C.A., Fondul superintendențial. 1861/597; see also Boner, 296-7. Wealthier and more important congregations had as many as six Predigers, while small ones often had none. József Barsi reported that according to the 1869 census there were 475 Saxon clergymen, of whom almost half were Predigers. Barsi, "Az ágostai hitvallásu evangelikusok egyházi és iskolai ügyei Erdélyben," Statistikai és nemzetgazdasági közlemények 8 (1871), 136-58.

both rites enjoyed noble status, hence exemption from taxes. Later this distinction no longer obtained. Much more important for the economic status of the clergy were its sources of income, which varied according to political and local conditions as well as the peculiarities of each religion. A precise picture of clerical income is difficult because of this variety, but six types of economic support can be distinguished: canonic portions, tithes and tithe compensation by the state, patronage, church subsidies, emoluments or stola fees, and state subsidies.

A canonic portion was a generally small parcel of land whose income accrued to the pastor. In a general sense, all Roman Catholic parishes, all Lutheran in the Fundus Regius, the Greek Catholics and Protestants in many of the communities where they were the most numerous, and more rarely the Orthodox parishes possessed canonic portions. Legislation by the diet and Konflux, designed to improve the situation of the Romanian clergy, had provided for a canonic portion for every priest and minister. The measure was not carried out, however. In villages of mixed population the endowment of the Romanian parish tended to be much less than that of the Hungarian or Saxon one. The granting or expansion of the Romanian portion was a common demand by local activists in the 1860s.<sup>19</sup> Where Romanian parishes possessed canonic

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19. Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, 238. The Greek Catholic former serfs of Homorodalmás in the district of Udvarhely demanded the separation of part of the lands of the Unitarian congregation for itself in 1863; Sulutiu and Bishop Kriza instructed the rural deans of the clergy to

portions, they tended to be smaller. At least one case is recorded where the village commons were divided equitably between two or more parishes for the support of their schools.

The Romanian churches also fared badly with the tithe and the state compensation which was paid after the abolition of the tithe in the 1848. According to medieval law the Catholic pastor received one tenth of parishioners' harvest. The tithe later extended also to the Protestant clergy, but was lessened in the counties at the expense of the landlord's tithe (nones) and supplanted in the Szekler region by a different payment in kind, the kepe (L. capetium), and its monetary equivalent, the oszipora. Only in the Fundus Regius did the tithe survive in its original form, and was paid to the Lutheran clergy by all residents regardless of religion. Thus all 262 Lutheran parishes enjoyed the tithe, a much smaller fraction of the

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look into the matter-- Cluj-Napoca. Episcopia unitariană. Egyházképviselési tanács jegyzőkönyve, 1863/126, 165. The Romanian dean reported in March, 1863 that most of the clergy and parishes in his district were impoverished; AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG, 1863/211. In response to a demand by the Orthodox parishes in Hermannstadt, the Saxon magistracy awarded 17 Joch [1 Joch= 1.42 acres] for a canonic portion in 1861, but the Romanians complained that this was inadequate-- correspondence of the pastors with Șaguna, in Sibiu. AMOR 1862/319.

20. The income of most Greek Catholic canonic portions near Bistritz in 1862 was between 32 and 63 fl.; Retegan, "Școlile sâtești românești din zona Bistriței la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea," Marisia 11-12 (1981-82), 222.

21. The urbarial court of Kronstadt ruled in 1861 that the 137 Joch of commons (úrbéri község) in Bodola, Háromszék district, be divided equally between the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Reformed schools. Sibiu. AMOR, 1861/268.

Reformed congregations, 39 of the 211 Roman Catholic, only seven of the Greek Catholic parishes, and very few of the Unitarian and Orthodox ones.<sup>22</sup> By the final compensation settlement in the 1860s, each bishopric received bonds whose annual payments were as follows:

Lutheran	390,647 fl.		
Reformed	62,815		
Roman Catholic	47,055	30	kr.
Greek Catholic	16,582	30	
Unitarians	1,613		
Orthodox	60	30	(23

The interim payments made prior to the settlement in 1866 approximated the above proportions. The kepe continued to be collected during the 1860s. It was not a percentage of the harvest but a set amount that was as much as one-sixth of the harvest for the poorest people. This injustice prompted some Szeklers to convert to Orthodoxy because the less-endowed, itinerant Romanian clergy did not collect the kepe.<sup>24</sup>

Patronage (L. patronatus) was a form of economic support practiced to some degree in the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic, but especially in the Reformed church, referred to earlier. It is reasonable to assume that patrons exercised an influence over the conduct of the pastors, though it is difficult to show evidence of this influence. Of the 211

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22. Grimm, Das Urbarialwesen in Siebenbürgen, 116-21.

23. Elek Jakab, A királyföldi viszonyok ismertetése, I (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv, 1871), 154-6. Jakab's work is polemical in intent (arguing for the end of the autonomy of the Fundus Regius) and in citing these figures he ignores the more varied sources of income enjoyed by the clergy of the other churches.

24. Imreh, A törvényhozó székely falu, 107-8.

Roman Catholic parishes, 53 were supported by a patron; only 2.8% of the Greek Catholic parishes in Transylvania had patrons, but a much higher fraction of those in Hungary proper.<sup>25</sup> Many of these were in the politically volatile territory of the imperial mining authorities of the Muntii Apuseni. While Greek Catholic parishes here received an annual subsidy of 150-200 fl. from the mining authorities, those of the Roman Catholics received as much as double or triple this amount.<sup>26</sup> A form of patronage was widespread in all the communities of the Szekler region. They recognized the duty to provide not only a canonic portion for the parish, but to provide separate land for the pastor and teacher<sup>27</sup> and to maintain their homes and the school.

Another special characteristic of the Catholic churches of both rites was that their bishops and cathedral chapters were among the greatest landowners of Transylvania. The annual income of the Roman Catholic bishopric properties, at nearly sixteen thousand fl., was the second highest in Alsó-Fehér county after that of the royal treasury; the Reformed College in Nagyenyed was third, the Archbishopric of Blaj was seventh, and the Roman Catholic Cathedral Chapter was eleventh.<sup>28</sup> The bishops and canons of the cathedral chapters used this income to support the pastors and schools

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25. Draft of letter by Haynald to the Papal Nuncio, [August] 1863, in Alba Iulia. ERC. 1863/1935 (Cat. 1); Păcurariu, 225.

26. Draft of Şuluţiu to Franz Joseph, February 15, 1863, in AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG. 1863/81.

27. Imreh, op. cit., 100-3.

28. Table "Alsófehérmegyei birtokok," in Alba Iulia. ERC. 1862/3028 (Cat. 37).

of the poorer parishes. The Catholic church also enjoyed the exclusive use of various endowments for the subsidization of parishes, which were, however, under the control of the Habsburg authorities. Catholic laity and even the bishops periodically agitated for the return of these endowments to church control, but without success. The Orthodox diocese also possessed several endowments which<sup>29</sup> were similarly controlled by the state.

Deriving much less benefit than the other churches from these means of support, the Romanian priests also collected a sort of tithe of their own called the lectical and also stola fees paid in kind for liturgical services like baptisms, marriages, and funerals. These parishes most often lacked tithe compensation or canonic portions, and often preferred a priest candidate who possessed land in the village or nearby.<sup>30</sup> The most important source of fees was funerals; at this and other times, priests and even cantors collected knotted sweetbreads and prescura, a half pound of the latter from each parishioner per week. Prescura was a special bread baked in the form of a cross; in the large

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29. On the Romanian endowments, see Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, 236, and Onisifor Ghibu, Viața și organizația bisericească și școlară în Transilvania și Ungaria (București: Institutul de arte grafice "Nicolae Stroilă", 1915), 52-5, 78-9. The summary by Ghibu is misleading because many of the endowments were established after 1867.

30. Retegan, "Școlile românești din zona Bistriței," 222; Gergely Moldován, A románság, II (Nagybecskerek: Pleitz Ferencz Pál, 1896), 22-3; Maria I. Negreaunu, Românii din Tg.-Săcuesc și satele învecinate după condica Bisericii Ortodoxe din Tg.-Săcuesc (București: Institutul de Istorie Națională din București, 1943), 19.

Romanian parishes of Zlatna in Also-Feher, as many as 25,000 prescura were collected per year in the late nineteenth century. Parishioners sometimes also worked one or two days a year on the priest's land (clacă).<sup>31</sup> As happened in other countries in the nineteenth century where priests were forced to take such measures by economic straits, some parishioners accused the clergy of avarice and a mingling of material with spiritual motives.<sup>32</sup>

Hungarians also complained about the collection of fees for funerals and weddings by the clergy, but this provided a much smaller portion of their churches' income.<sup>33</sup>

Measured in monetary terms, the Romanian parishes were certainly the poorest. The rare foreigner who made contact with the Romanian village clergy reported that its educational level, economic means and social pretensions were much more modest than those of its Hungarian and Saxon counterparts. The Orthodox clergy survived primarily by its liturgical fees, and at times even by physical labor. The Greek Catholic clergy was not much better off.<sup>34</sup> The

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 31. Moldován, A magyarországi románok (Budapest: sn, 1913), 551-2.

32. The poor Romanians of several villages in the Carpathians near Bistritz complained to Şaguna in July, 1861 that their pastor had doubled and tripled the charges for some services, and even cancelled services when the prescura was not forthcoming; Sibiu. AMOR, 1861/752. See also Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 357-9, and Gregory L. Freeze, The Parish Clergy in Nineteenth-Century Russia. Crisis, Reform, Counter-Reform (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 57-65.

33. Imreh, A törvényhozó székely falu, 104.

34. John Paget, Hungary and Transylvania; with some remarks on their condition, social, political, and economi-

failings of the clergy were likely greater than a bishop would admit publicly, so it is remarkable that Saguna admonished his clergy for careless dress and drunkenness.

Most Romanian parishes had annual monetary incomes of around 50 fl., and only a few urban parishes and regional vicariats enjoyed an income of from 200 to 500 fl. By contrast, the annual average of the tithe compensation alone for Saxon parishes was over 1000 fl., and many Unitarian congregations collected an equal amount in land rents. One important consequence was in the ability of the churches

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cal (London: John Murray, 1850); D.T. Ansted, A Short Trip to Hungary and Transylvania in the Spring of 1862 (London: W.H. Allen, 1862), 101-4; Boner, 366-71; see also Hitchins, Orthodoxy and Nationality, 236-7. Boner met individual Romanian priests whom he described favorably, but his chief source of information appears to have been the Saxons. This would account for his rather colorful statements about the manipulativeness and ignorance of the Romanian clergy and the "notorious" corruption of their bishops. Though Boner distinguishes it from bribery, others may have labeled corrupt the Orthodox ordination fee (singhelie), paid by new appointments to parishes, which according to Hitchins was prescribed by canon law and was one of the few sources of income for the bishop.

35. Nicolau Popea, Archiepiscopul și metropolitul Andreiu Baron de Șaguna (Sibiiu: Tipariul tipografiei arhidieceșane, 1879), 162-5. Popea cites pastoral letters of 1846 and 1857; the latter is also in Tulbure, 428-30.

36. Conspectus parochiarum (Reports by all archdiocesan pastors on parish membership, income and schools) in AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG, 1862/533.

37. Jakab, loc. cit.; Financial balances of the Unitarian congregations in Roșia Montana and Abrudbánya for 1858-59, in Cluj-Napoca. Episcopia unitariană. Egyházközeleti tanács documents, 1861/140. Boner cites the salaries of two Saxon parsons, 1100 and 2200 fl., of which the minister paid one-tenth in taxes. In his only remark about the Hungarian clergy, he states that they were badly paid, receiving as little as 200 to 500 fl. per year; "The (Hungarian Reformed) Protestant church will not receive pay from the State, as by doing so it is thought its freedom might be circumscribed." Boner, 297, 446, 518.



and parishes to maintain schools in the national language. (See Tables 8, 9 below). The Romanian clergy was therefore at strong disadvantage in its political struggle with the other nationalities' clergy, let alone with the Hungarian aristocracy and Saxon middle class.

Nationalist ideology was one motive for the Romanian bishops' tactical alliance with the Austrian authorities in the 1860s; the opportunity for financial aid was another. In the 1863 state budget subsidies to the Romanian churches accounted for two-thirds of the expenditure of the Transylvanian Court Chancellery for religious and educational purposes.<sup>38</sup> The subsidies subsequently distributed ranged from 50 to 100 fl., doubling the parish income in many cases.<sup>39</sup> Yet there is no direct evidence to support the contemporary Hungarian claim that the Austrians paid Saguna 80,000 fl. for distribution among the clergy so that it would "seduce the people" to support the regime."<sup>40</sup>

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38. Reports by the Finance Ministry on the budget proposals (Staatsvoranschlag) for 1862 and 1863, in MOL D228, 1862/153, 1863/23.

39. In granting 24,000 fl. for the support of the Orthodox clergy in 1861, the state specified that the grants for individual priests be no less than 50 fl., or more than 100 fl. each-- Saguna's circular number 480 of May 28 (o.s.), in Tulbure, 442. The subsidy of 18,000 fl. to the Archdiocese of Blaj in 1863 was distributed to 212 different priests in amounts from 20 fl. to 100 fl., averaging 85 fl.; the list of the 212 grants is in AS Alba Iulia. MRU, CM, 784.

40. The charge was raised by a szolgabíró in Alsó-Fehér, Mihály Kölönte, on July 23, 1863. Kölönte's goal, according to the Orthodox pastor Ioan Benna, was to create fear among the people that the subsidies were only a means toward absolutist oppression. On August 20 Governor Crenneville ordered an interrogation of Kölönte and the Romanian eyewitnesses, and nothing more was heard of the matter. MOL. F263. 1863/4887. In November, 1861, Kölönte had

Given the electoral law of these years, the Romanian voters were at any rate the wealthiest components of Romanian villages and unlikely to be "bribed" by such small sums. The Roman Catholic bishopric was itself the recipient of a subsidy of 20,000 fl. for its clergy in October, 1863 and it is instructive to contrast the mode of its distribution: not in small grants to a large number of parishes, but in grants of 2000 to 4000 fl. to several parishes.<sup>41</sup> The subsidy served not for general support, but for a few long-term construction projects.

Naturally, the imperial subsidies to the Romanians did influence the attitudes of their clergy and laity indirectly, particularly since many activists had a strong faith in the efficacy of education in improving the future of the nation. Bishop Haynald hoped to keep the dependence of his church on state subsidies to a minimum, but he worried that if he made public his opposition to the abolition of the kepe and the assumption of its redemption by the state this would be unpopular among the poorer Szeklers. In view of these political ramifications he sought to coordinate his position with that of the Reformed Church.<sup>42</sup>

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accused the Romanians of collecting weapons in preparation for an insurrection; AS Alba Iulia, Prefectura județului Alba de jos 1861/1417. Without any indication of his source, Zoltán Szász cites rumors that the Romanian clergy received the fantastic sum of 800,000 fl. to influence the voters-- Szász, "Az abszolutizmus kora Erdélyben," 1494.

41. Alba Iulia. ERC 1863/2350 (Cat. 4).

42. Correspondence of Haynald and Ferenc Kemény (former Court Chancellor and Head Elder of the Reformed Church), October 10 and 15, 1863, in Alba Iulia. ERC 1863/2367 Cat. 37.

The size of the parishes reflected their available income and the distribution of the population (see Table 7 above). A Roman Catholic pastor, since celibate, could live better on the same income. Due to their more elaborate liturgical practices, the eastern rite parishes also had to maintain (at least partially) personnel that were not generally included in calculations of the clergy. Gregory L. Freeze has argued in the case of the Russian church that Orthodoxy faced more formidable obstacles to economic rationalization in the nineteenth century than other churches because of the abundance of essential liturgical practices and married functionaries.<sup>43</sup> Throughout Europe in the nineteenth century the parishioner-clergy ratios rose, but for most of the respective religious groups the ratios in Transylvania were considerably lower than in either western Europe or Russia during the same period.<sup>44</sup> Thanks to their varied, generally superior economic support the churches in Transylvania could maintain more parish clergy than those elsewhere in Europe.

The clergy was well provided for partly because it had useful services to provide the state: supplying birth records to the military and warning the people against social disorder and draft evasion, publicizing health regulations and

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43. Freeze, 64-5, 459.

44. The ratio for the Catholic clergy in France was 752 in 1848; for the Protestant clergy of northern Europe between 1847 and 1861 it ranged between 1054 and 3164; the ratio for Russian Orthodox parish priests (not including monks, who were very numerous) in 1860 was 1371. Comparative tables in Ibid., 64, 99.

praying for the Emperor. The "recovery" of the Empress (her return from one of her periodic estrangements from the Emperor) in 1862 presented an opportunity for both Suluțiu and Haynald to demonstrate their loyalty to the Emperor by

ordering high masses. The annual Catholic high masses and Protestant services in honor of Franz Joseph's birthday on August 18 were political as well as religious rituals, which is evident from the controversies which surrounded

them in the 1860s. The function of liturgy for the state was another consequence of the clergy's status as civil servants.

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#### Official Religion and Popular Religion

Civil duties aside, each pastor sought to inculcate the "official religion" or religious doctrine of his church.

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45. The Unitarian dean in Rimetea, Antal Koronka, responding to official complaints about the uncooperativeness of his clergy in providing birth records in April, 1863, claimed that the military was disrespectful in its dealings with them; the local (Torda county) officials and the presbytery took the side of the clergy. Cluj-Napoca. Episcopia unitariană, Egyházképviseleti tanács jegyzőkönyve, 1863/113. Responding to an official appeal for the clergy to assist the military recruitment, Șuluțiu repeated it in his pastoral letter of May 13, 1862-- in AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG 1862/371. A year later, he announced an imperial amnesty for draft resisters who had taken refuge in the Romanian Principalities-- in AS Alba Iulia. MRU, CM 782. Most fugitives came from the southern regions, where the Orthodox predominated. Șaguna's circular of June 6 (o.s.), 1863 on the matter was an even stronger appeal to the resisters to return home; Sibiu. ABAOR, FS. 1845, 1849, 1869-70.

46. Alba Iulia. ERC 1862/2182 (Cat. 2), and declaration of the Cathedral Chapter of Blaj, in Budapest. MOL, D228. 1862/450.

47. Imreh, A törvényhozó székely falu, 103; See Chapter VIII.

"Popular religion" encompassed behavior patterns which people developed out of "official religion."<sup>48</sup> If the forms of popular religion do not offend official religion or clerical authority, the church may grant them its support. Hence the relationship between official and popular religion is generally a dynamic one, as each is nourished by the other.<sup>49</sup>

The strict separation of the two categories is also difficult. On the other hand, truly excrescent forms of popular religion, called folk beliefs, may be strongly religious expressions which meet with clerical condemnation.

The six Christian churches in Transylvania shared a basic religious culture founded on the Bible. Beyond the Bible, theological and political traditions in the churches provided differing answers to key questions which people were facing: nationalism and internationalism, lay and clerical influence, absolutism and liberty, conservatism and modernity. Roman Catholicism had a unique tradition of internationalism, Orthodoxy of conservation, and Unitarianism of liberal tendencies. The Protestant churches were prototypes for lay influence and for national identity, both tendencies on the rise everywhere in the nineteenth century.

Local conditions and political tradition, more than doctrine, lent clarity to the attributes or "meanings" of the churches in Transylvania. All these churches existed

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48. G.J.F. Bouritius, "Popular and Official Religion in Christianity: Three Cases in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in Official and Popular Religion. Analysis of a Theme for Religious Studies (The Hague: Mouton, 1979), 118-20.

49. This is the thesis of Bouritius, 117-65.

outside Transylvania as well. Their local emergence confirms the observation that in multiethnic or stratified societies, theological formulations can provide legitimacy and a pervasive identifying ethos for different social groups. The Protestant Konfessionsbildung in sixteenth-century Transylvania, by neatly separating the Hungarians<sup>50</sup> and Saxons, fulfilled the same function. All six Christian churches in Transylvania were nearly homogeneous with respect to ethnicity: a fact of great significance in the nineteenth century, when nationality politics were of great import.<sup>51</sup>

Transylvanian Unitarianism inspired political liberalism in such members as Sándor Bölöni Farkas and Elek Jakab by its emphasis on religious toleration and "salvation by character," its adversarial relationship with the Habsburg Catholic Restoration, and its ties with the liberal Unitarians of Great Britain and the United States. An English Unitarian missionary to Transylvania in 1859 also

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50. L. Ferenc Lendvai, "Etnikum és vallás," in Világosság 24 (1983), 467-76; John A. Armstrong, Nations before Nationalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 201-40; Walter Dausch, "Gegenreformation und protestantische Konfessionsbildung in Siebenbürgen zur Zeit Stephan Báthorys (1571-1584)," in Luther und Siebenbürgen. Ausstrahlungen von Reformation und Humanismus nach Südosteuropa (Köln: Böhlau, 1985), 215-27.

51. One of the earliest statistical analyses of the nationalities within the churches used the 1890 census. It showed that in each of the six churches within Transylvania one nationality comprised 89% or more of the total: Lutheran Germans, Hungarian Roman Catholics, Reformed and Unitarians, and Romanian Greek Catholics and Orthodox. Pál Balogh, A népfajok Magyarországon (Budapest: Magyar királyi Vallás- és Közoktatási Minisztérium, 1902), 1072-73.

served as an emissary of the Kossuth emigration there, and in 1861 the Unitarian College in Kolozsvár was the first school in Transylvania to teach English, in 1861.<sup>52</sup> The experience of the Counterreformation also conditioned considerable anti-Habsburg sentiment and liberal activism among the Hungarian Reformed, prompting some Hungarian Catholic courtiers to argue after 1849 that the Revolution had essentially been the work of the Protestants. Many Reformed believed that the struggle for religious rights was one of the Protestant work ethic against ultramontane reaction. But it must be noted that Hungarian Reformed doctrine explicitly favored aristocratic control of the church through the presbyterial supervision and the patronage of congregations.<sup>53</sup> The Lutheran church comprised almost all of the

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 52. György Szabad, "A levéltáros és történetíró Jakab Elek pályaképehez," Levéltári közlemények 44-5 (1976), 552; Tibor F. Fabiny, "Accounts and Images of English Unitarians on Transylvania. Three Visits: 1859-1879," in Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 21 (1979), 132-5; Gyemant and Teodor, "Clujul în timpul revoluției de la 1848-1849 și a regimului absolutist și liberal," in Pascu, ed., Istoria Clujului, 280-1. The episcopal presbytery praised the missionary extravagantly and urged the clergy to give him "all necessary assistance"; Cluj-Napoca. Episcopia unitariană, Egyházképviselési tanács jegyzőkönyve 1859/168, 200, 204.

53. Friedrich Walter, "Die Beteiligung der magyarischen Protestanten in der Revolution 1848/49," in Gedenkschrift für Harald Steinacker (1875-1965) (München: Oldenbourg, 1966), 267-76; Friedrich Teutsch, Die kirchlichen Verhältnisse Siebenbürgens (Halle: Verlag von Eugen Strien, 1906), 14-18. Mór Ballagi, the editor of the Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lapok of Budapest, was the leading spokesman in the 1860s of Reformed liberalism and the author of Die Protestantenfrage in Ungarn und die Politik Österreichs (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1860) and A Protestánsizmus harca az ultramontanizmus ellen (Pest: Osterlamm Károly, 1867). The writer Lajos Tolnai, after serving as Reformed minister in Marosvásárhely from 1868 to 1884, wrote

Saxons. While it, too, had suffered from the Counterreformation, its strong German identity assured its political loyalty to the Viennese court. The establishment of a Transylvanian branch of the German Gustav Adolph Verein in 1861 to support the church there symbolized the fraternal bond with Greater Germany.

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The political tradition, doctrine and practice of the three ritualistic churches contrasted in important ways with those of the Protestants. Succeeding chapters will show that all had a more or less comfortable relationship with the Habsburg authorities; in the case of the Orthodox, relations improved decidedly as the result of the Edict of Toleration of Joseph II in 1781. The most striking doctrinal commonality of these three churches, which contrasts with the Protestants, is in their interpretation of the "communion of saints" mentioned in the Apostles' Creed. While Protestants tend to limit the "saints" to those living in the Church, in the older interpretation the Church Militant (the living) appeals to the Church Triumphant (the saints in heaven) on behalf of the Church Suffering (in purgatory), while the Church Triumphant intercedes on behalf of the other two.

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a bitingly satirical memoir about the church oligarchy there, A sötét világ (1894).

54. Werner Conze, "Luthertum und Nationalismus--Deutsch-Protestantismus," in Luther und Siebenbürgen, 137-53; Teutsch, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen II, 408-11.

55. Victor and Edith Turner, Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture. Anthropological Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 158-70, 204-6.



implications for iconography, popular piety, and pilgrimage practice.

Doctrinal differences between these three churches concern papal primacy, the filioque clause in the credal definition of the Trinity (rejected by the Orthodox), and veneration of statuary (only in Roman Catholicism) versus that of icons. Theologians have also contrasted the greater emphasis in Roman Catholicism on the Passion and suffering and the Orthodox themes of resurrection and future glory.<sup>56</sup> Aside from papal primacy, these distinctions have no overt political significance, but function on the popular level as ambiguous group symbols. The similarities in religious practice are more evident.

Liturgical practice strongly divides the two groups of churches, but the ritualistic churches, to a lesser degree, as well. All celebrated the liturgy in the vernacular except for the Roman Catholics, who celebrated it in<sup>57</sup> Latin. Ritual was minimal among the Unitarians and Reformed, but relatively greater among the Lutherans. The eastern rite liturgies (matins, vespers, Eucharist, and a vast number of festival ceremonies and common blessings) required some twenty different liturgical books for prayers, scriptural readings and chants. These were published in

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56. Timothy Ware, The Orthodox Church (New York: Penguin, 1984), 38-42, 218-23, 230-2, 238-9.

57. The vernacular replaced Slavonic in the Romanian dioceses since at least the early eighteenth century, but became a subject of controversy among the Greek Catholics a century later; see Chapter VIII.

Romanian beginning in the seventeenth century, and old  
copies have been found in very many of the Transylvanian  
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Romanian parishes. The Romanian Greek Catholic and  
Orthodox liturgies differed in only minor details of wording  
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and music. The eastern rite, and to a lesser extent the  
Roman Catholics, practiced a far greater number of ritual  
blessings of food, animals, and buildings than is common  
today. These in turn gave rise to theologically dubious lay  
practices using holy water and foods, in which the ritual-  
tic churches more closely resembled each other than they did  
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the Protestants.

Linguistic and ecclesiastic influences led to religious  
syncretism among the Greek Catholics in particular. Contem-  
poraries referred to the intrusion of Roman Catholic  
practices after the Church Union. These practices included

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58. It has been estimated that 2113 titles (in Slavic  
and Romanian language), mostly liturgical, were published in  
Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia between 1508 and 1830,  
comprising as many as two million copies; 508 have been  
found on the current territory of Alba county-- Doina Lupan,  
"Circulația cărții vechi românești în județul Alba," in  
Episcopia Ortodoxa română de Alba Iulia, Indrumător pastoral  
2 (1978), 127-30. András Cserbák argues that the lack of  
Hungarian translations for ritual blessings accounts for the  
dying out of many popular religious practices, and hence the  
ethnic distinctiveness, of the Hungarian Greek Catholics,  
because the religious basis of these practices became  
obscure; "A magyar görög katolikus népi vallásosság művelődési  
háttere," in Gábor Tüskés, ed., "Mert ezt Isten hagyta..."  
Tanulmányok a népi vallásosság köréből (Budapest: Magvető,  
1986), 300-2. Yet similar Roman Catholic practices survived  
and resisted "rationalization" despite the Latin language of  
ritual texts.

59. Ghibu, 71. Ghibu noted that in his time the Greek  
Catholic priests delivered "incomparably more" sermons than  
the Orthodox ones; Ibid., 74.

60. Elek Bartha, "A bizánci liturgia nyomai a  
néphagyományban," in Tüskés, ed., 314-25.

the neglect of the veneration of oriental saints, crosses, icons and gospel books, and the gradual adoption of Roman Catholic saints, statuary, side altars, pews and collection boxes in the churches, and of rosary and other prayer forms, Marian veneration and feast days, catechisms, and forms of

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address. Such syncretism was less widespread in Transylvania than among the Slavs and Romanians of northeastern Hungary, but all the more controversial because of the unstable numerical equilibrium between the Greek Catholics and Orthodox and the identification of "Latinism" with Hungarian influence there.

Church buildings were the physical and symbolic center of parish life, or, in the metaphor of Mircea Eliade, "the center of the world." In ancient religions and in Christian practice the church was the center of the religious community in this world, a cosmogonic symbol and an opening or gate into paradise. The eastern rite church opens the "imperial door" or Door of Paradise before the altar during the entire Easter week to express the Easter reading, "Christ rose from the grave and opened the doors of Paradise unto us." As "copy of the cosmos," the Byzantine church incarnates and at the same time sanctifies the world. The iconostasis in an eastern rite church is a window into heaven, or a

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61. Cserbák, 284-93; Kligman, Wedding of the Dead, 61-73.

62. Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane. The Nature of Religion (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1959), 36-47, 61-2.

"meeting place of heaven and earth."

Many Transylvanian Romanian churches in 1860 were small, wooden structures, dark but often crowded with frescoes and icons illuminated eerily by flickering candles. The majority were built in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the Church Union expanded into new regions, but especially after many Orthodox churches and monasteries were destroyed by Austrian cannon during the religious revolt in Transylvania in 1756-61 and in the aftermath of the peasant revolt of 1784-85.<sup>64</sup> Parishes were generally too poor to employ prestigious foreign painters for their decoration. Icons and frescoes during this period were typically painted by local artists, like the Grecu brothers in the area around Hermannstadt. Between 1800 and 1818, the Grecu brothers painted frescoes in many village churches. Perhaps the most remarkable frescoes are those in which Christ is tortured by the same methods as was the leader of the peasant revolt of 1514, in which a man carrying Christ's cross wears Romanian peasant garb, and in which the Roman

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63. Ware, 276-8.

64. Of the 757 churches in the Archdiocese of Blaj in 1900, 415 were of wood; Şematismul veneratului cler al Arhidiecezei mitropolitane greco-catolice române de Alba-Iulia şi Făgăraş pe anul 1906 (Blaj: Tipografia seminariului arhidiecezane, 1906), 329. On the destruction of Orthodox churches and monasteries see Silviu Dragomir, Istoria Desrobirei Religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII, II (Sibiu: Editura şi tiparul Tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1930), 234-42. A good brief description is Gábor Szinte, "Az erdélyi román fatemplomok" [1913], republished in Péter Sas, ed., Ódon Erdély. Művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok, II (Budapest: Magvető, 1986), 429-44.

soldiers wear the costume of Hungarian noblemen.

Different regions of Transylvania had their own icon workshops and characteristic styles, of which that in Nicula near the Greek Catholic episcopal see of Szamosujvar was the most important. Even more "popular" in form than the frescoes and icons on wood were the Transylvanian glass icons, not produced in any other land inhabited by Romanians. The artist portrayed religious scenes in a naive style on ordinary panes of glass, and sold the icons at markets or on the feast day for the patron saint of a church.

The relationship between of Romanian popular piety and folk art was especially vivid in the life of Picu Pătruț (1818-72), an Orthodox sacristan, poet and miniaturist who lived in Saliste in southern Transylvania almost his entire life. He became a monk in the small monastery of Cheia in Moldavia in 1849 and returned to Saliste, living an ascetic life according to the rule of the Moldavian monastery of Neamț, teaching and serving the parish. In his lifetime he

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65. Ioan Fulea, "Biserici-monumente istorice, pictate de fratii Grecu," in Arhiepiscopia Sibiului-- pagini de istorie (Sibiu: Tiparul tipografiei eparhiale, 1981), 211-26 (with six illustrations); Păcurariu, 315-20. A similar crucifixion scene was painted in 1809 in the wooden church at Sartăș by an artist from Abrudbánya, the birthplace of Șuluțiu, in the Munții Apuseni; I visited it in June, 1984. Secular influences may have caused a decline in church painting, at least among the Orthodox; Ghibu wrote, referring to these, "Aproape nici o biserică din cele cari s'au făcut între 1830 și 1900 nu e pictată. Opere de artă avem absolut putine." Ghibu confirmed the scarcity of old churches, but stated that the majority of churches were small, simple and devoid of art. He was probably less familiar with the Greek Catholic churches, which were far north of his south Transylvanian home.-- Ghibu, p. 29.

wrote roughly 500 verses, odes and ballads and produced some 34,000 miniatures, drawing chiefly on biblical stories, inspired by his personal piety and by Romanian animal husbandry and village life. None of his works were published during his lifetime, but his verses and religious plays were widely copied and performed, entering Romanian oral tradition anonymously. Only after his death did some of the most famous plays appear in print and his authorship of them become known.

Hungarian and Saxon churches, like the world of which they were "the center," presented a very different appearance. Many were the architectural monuments of Transylvanian Romanesque, Gothic, and Baroque that were visited and carefully described by all the nineteenth-century travellers. Just as the smoky, mystical wooden churches were at the center of the Romanian community, we must consider the fortified churches of the Saxons, Hungarians and Szeklers and the Catholic Baroque the most important symbols for the dominant nationalities. Almost all of the Saxon churches were of medieval origin and surrounded by their own walls and towers, while ten to fourteen fortified Szekler churches

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66. Picu Pătruț. Miniaturi și poezie (București: Asociația România, 1985), with original verses and color miniatures by Pătruț, and studies by other authors.

67. Balázs Orbán described how Bishop Haynald "tricked" the Szekler parisoners of Csíkménaság into taking better care of their sixteenth-century winged altar by suggesting that he would remove it to Gyulafehérvár for safekeeping; today it is in the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest. A Székelyföld leírása, II (Pest: Rath Mór, 1869), 41; see also Virgil Bierbauer, "A Székelyföld templomairól," [1942], in Sas, ed., II, 403-28.

existed during our period. The greatest period of the fortified churches' construction was the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At that time the Saxon settlements were regularly threatened by Turkish incursions; the inhabitants took refuge within the walls, which were equipped with granaries and apartments, for months at a time. The Saxons in the nineteenth century were conscious of the symbolic importance of the fortified churches; despite the general tendency to destroy "useless" walls elsewhere in Europe, this happened very rarely among the Saxons. In medium-sized towns like Biertan (the seat of the Lutheran bishop), Cristian and Cîsnădie, they symbolized the colonizing and military past and Saxon self-sufficiency and conservatism. The stark Lutheran interiors allowed only the medieval altar pieces, Turkish rugs that were preserved as another military reminder, Latin and German inscriptions and the ubiquitous organs which made their appearance in the eighteenth century.<sup>68</sup>

The restoration of Catholicism in the eighteenth century brought the expropriation of many Protestant churches for the revitalized Catholic parishes, but more importantly a major building program and the restyling of other churches' interiors. Pietas austriaca was the spiritual theme of the

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68. Hermann and Alida Fabini, Kirchenburgen in Siebenbürgen. Abbildung und Selbstdarstellung siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Dorfgemeinschaften (Köln: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1986), 8-10, 192-203; Alfred Prox, "Szekler Kirchenburgen," in Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde 9 (1986), 26-30.

Habsburg resurgence throughout the empire: the expansion of education by the teaching orders, the veneration of "Austrian" saints like St. John Nepomuk but most of all the propagation of Baroque art. Architecture, statuary, and painting, like the Habsburg military and officialdom, brought with them a powerful impression of the alliance between the dynasty and the universal church.<sup>69</sup> The Transylvanian capital city of Kolozsvár, which surrendered this status periodically to Hermannstadt in the eighteenth century and then again in 1863-65, became the chief point of radiation for the Transylvanian Baroque. Many Roman Catholic, and even many Protestant, churches erected in the major cities of the province imitated the Jesuit, Franciscan and Minorite churches in Kolozsvár as did the Greek Catholic cathedral in Blaj. The Greek Catholic and Orthodox churches in Kolozsvár combined traditional Romanian and Baroque elements and also found imitators as the Romanians gained the right to reside in and erect churches in other major cities in this period.<sup>70</sup> The Catholic pretension to a special relationship with the empire was confirmed by the Concordat in 1855, but, as we will see, this relationship had contradictory implications for Bishop Haynald.

Due to wealth or age, Saxon and Hungarian churches

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69. Historians have drawn a connection between Baroque art and the concept of social hierarchy of that age; see Otto Weiss, "Der Ultramontanismus. Grundlagen--Vorgeschichte--Struktur," Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte 41 (1978), 844-5.

70. Mircea Toca, Clujul baroc (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983), 116-25.



could afford European, hence less popular or local, artistic decoration. Like the painters of Romanian glass icons, local artists or merchants also sold parishioners such articles of home devotion as statuary (among the Catholics) and pictures. In comparison to the Romanian material, there has been little research on the religious folk art of the Hungarians and Saxons of Transylvania.

A pilgrimage shrine could have an influence on the popular religion of an entire region or catchment area,<sup>71</sup> known by anthropologists as a Sakrallandschaft.

Pilgrimages were among the most striking points of contact between official and popular religion in the ritualistic churches. Hungarian pilgrimage places came about as the result of a pledge of regular visitation and prayer by individual lay people after they were saved from a disaster<sup>72</sup> like an epidemic or invasion or experienced a vision.

Church authorities, initially wary of claims about a vision or miraculous picture, came to accept the pilgrimage as a proper form of intercessional prayer directed toward a saint. Yet the pilgrimage is a distinctive form of pious activity in that it is initiated by individual lay persons and does not require the participation of the clergy in most of its stages. The pilgrimage is a temporary withdrawal or escape from the tensions and divisions of the local communi-

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71. The term originated with Georg Schreiber; cited by Elek Bartha, A hitélet néprajzi vizsgálata egy zempléni faluban (Debrecen: KLTE Néprajzi tanszéke, 1980), 21.

72. Sándor Bálint, "Adatok a magyar búcsújárás néprajzához," Ethnographia 50 (1939), 193.

ty to a larger community represented by fellow believers  
from other localities.<sup>73</sup> Each shrine has its principal  
festival dates, customs and historical themes. Pilgrims are  
bombarded with historical symbols and associations. It is  
important for us to examine the history of several Hungarian  
and Transylvanian pilgrimages for what they tell us about  
the self-perception of the Orthodox and Roman and Greek  
Catholic communities.

Like elsewhere in the world, the pilgrimages of Hungary  
and Transylvania in the mid-nineteenth century can be placed  
into four main categories: international, national, regional,  
and intervillage. Those with the widest geographical appeal  
attracted more pilgrims from the wealthiest classes, while  
those at the opposite end of the scale were pilgrimages of  
the local peasantry.<sup>74</sup>

The principal shrines in Hungary and Transylvania, like  
most modern pilgrimages in other countries, were Marian  
shrines. Since the Council of Ephesus in the fifth century,  
Mary has been considered the leading saint and supreme  
intercessor with God.<sup>75</sup> Hungary and Poland were the only  
countries in nineteenth-century Central Europe for which the

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73. Turner, 7-9; the authors state that "...there is  
something inveterately populist, anarchical, even anticleri-  
cal, about pilgrimages in their very essence."--31-2.

74. Turner, 238-9. Their model is based on Catholic  
shrines of Western Europe and North America, but corresponds  
to a similar scheme for Hindu shrines in India.

75. Ibid., 148-52. The increase in Marian devotion and  
in the membership of female religious orders in nineteenth-  
century Transylvania, like elsewhere in Europe, accompanied  
the relative feminization of lay piety and religious personnel.

Virgin Mary held the status of patron saint. St. Stephen ascribed his victory to Mary, the "Great Lady of Hungary" and Maria Theresa gave Hungary the title Regnum Marianum in the eighteenth century. Most Hungarian coins struck between 1458 and 1848 carried the portrait of Mary with child on one side and the inscription Patrona Hungariae.<sup>76</sup>

The most revered shrine of Austrian and Hungarian Catholics in the nineteenth century was Mariazell in Styria. The Hungarian King Lajos had dedicated a chapel to Our Lady of Hungary there in 1363 following a victory over the Turks.<sup>77</sup> I noted in Chapter I the political significance of the pilgrimage there led by Scitovszky in 1857.

Two pilgrimage shrines of the Transylvanians belonged to the second category because of their broad geographical catchment area, social prestige and national symbolism: Csíksomlyó and Máriapócs. Csíksomlyó will be discussed in

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76. Arnold Ipolyi, Magyar mythológia (Budapest: Zajti Ferencz, 1929), vol. 1, 80-1; Kornel Fux and Zsuzsanna Hölgyéné Angelotti, Magyar pénzermék és papírpénzek (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1981), 48-73; Emil Unger, "Szűz Mária alakja a magyar pénzekben," Vigilia 1987/5, 328-32. Turner notes that while Mary is the most universal saint, she "has in practice become, in each of her numerous images, exclusive patroness of a given community, region, city or nation. Wherever she has become such a symbol of xenophobic localism, political structure has subverted communitas."--171.

77. Rudolf Kriss, Wallfahrtsorte Europas (München: Hornung-Verlag, 1950), 81-5; Helene Grün et al., Via Sacra. Das Wallfahrtsmuseum in Kleinmariazell (Wien: Im Selbstverlag des Österreichischen Museums für Volkskunde, 1977). Hungarian ethnographers have conducted extensive studies of the Hungarian pilgrimages, especially the late Balint Sandor, whose papers include material on 29 different pilgrimages-- Gábor Tüskés, "A népi vallásosság kutatása Magyarországon. Tudománytörténeti áttekintés," in Tüskés, ed., 58.

Chapter VI. The church in Máriapócs, a village now located in Szabolcs county of present-day Hungary, became a shrine after tears were reported on its painting of Mary in 1696 and 1715. Catholic Church and Habsburg officials confirmed the reports, and the church drew increasing numbers of pilgrims. In 1731 a Greek Catholic church was built there in Baroque style, and 25 years later a monastery for the Greek Catholic monks who played a major part in the administration of the pilgrimage. The veneration at Máriapócs was Austrian Baroque in origin, and it attracted Hungarian, Ruthenian and Romanian Catholics of both rites. All three peoples contributed their own customs to the ethnography of the pilgrimage, but their common worship was a major factor in the religious syncretism and Magyarization of the Greek Catholics in the surrounding area.

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Máriapócs was the chief shrine for the more Hungarophile Romanian Greek Catholics of the diocese of Nagyvárad and bordering areas of Transylvania. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were several annual feasts attracting different social and ethnic categories of pilgrims, for an estimated total of 400,000 per year. Like at other Hungarian pilgrimages, pilgrims to Máriapócs brought-- or bought-- locally-made wax offertory figurines. Such large gatherings of people with time took on the character

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78. Cserbák, 304-5. The aesthetic aspect of monastery liturgies is important for their role as shrines, especially in the eastern rite. Outstanding icons and music heightened the religious experience.

of a modern carnival, with not only hymnsinging and prayers<sup>79</sup>  
but also a heavy commerce in holy pictures and souvenirs.

There is little written record of the regional pilgrimages in Transylvania. Very little has been written about the pilgrimages frequented chiefly by Romanians. The attendance of many Hungarians of the wealthier classes at the national pilgrimages in Austria and Hungary attracted the attention of the secular, urban intellectuals. There were few wealthy Romanians, and they may have attended Hungarian shrines with an eye to their own prestige. Orthodox pilgrimage tradition generally centered around monasteries, yet most of the monasteries in Transylvania were destroyed in the eighteenth century. There are reports of two Greek Catholic Marian shrines which were regional pilgrimage centers for the Transylvanian Romanians, Bikszád in Máramaros county and Nicula, the site of the glass icon workshop near Szamosújvár. Each was the location of a<sup>80</sup>  
medieval monastery predating the church union.

The history of the Hungarian regional pilgrimage on Szent-Anna-tó (Lake St. Anne) in the mountains between Csík and Haromszék merits examination because it illustrates several aspects of the relationship between folk belief, popular religion and the official church at a pilgrimage.

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79. Bálint, 193-8; Cserbák, 305; Péter Hársfalvi, "A magyar Lourdes: Máriapócs," História 5, 5-6 (1983), 55-8. The article by Hársfalvi, and the report on Máriapócs by Oszkár Jászi in 1910 on which it is partly based, are ironic and anticlerical in tone.

80. Cserbák, 304. On Bikszád and Nicula, see Chapter VIII.

Some people believed that the Szeklers had built an altar to a pre-Christian god by the side of the lake. After the Christianization of the country the altar was destroyed, and a chapel dedicated to St. Anne built in its place. Another local legend explained the origin of the lake and the chapel differently. It stated that a local maiden, Anne, called down a curse on an oppressive landlord and his castle.

Because the curse was justified, God destroyed the castle and created the lake in its place. As a result Anne built a chapel by the side of the lake and lived a holy life thereafter. The semiannual pilgrimages attracted twenty thousand people during some years in the nineteenth century. The officers corps of the Szekler border regiment participated in the pilgrimage procession, music and dances. The celebrations became increasingly disorderly, and finally the pilgrimage was banned.<sup>81</sup>

In 1860 a respected local seer (mondó ember) announced that the saint had appeared to him and declared that life in the Szekler region and the political situation in Hungary would not improve until the pilgrimage was revived. No clergymen responded to his announcement, but many people followed his call to assemble there on St. Anne's day. He appealed to Haynald for the reestablishment of the pilgrimage, but without success.<sup>82</sup>

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81. Similarly, the Apostolic Visitor to the Csango region of Moldavia reported that one village pilgrimage there gave rise to disgraceful drunkenness and parodies of the Orthodox clergy. Giuseppe Tomassi to Cardinal Barnabo, December 10, 1858, in DSSS, 383-4.

82. Orbán, III (1869), 73-5. One version of the legend cited by Orbán appeared in the 1861 issue of the Háromszék

The Catholic pilgrimage to Borszék at the end of the resort season there on St. Stephen's day, August 20, was apparently less objectionable to the church authorities. Orbán remarks that "half the Gyergyó region" regularly attended.<sup>83</sup>

Small-scale, intervillage pilgrimages, like the "valley shrines" of Spain, may relate most directly to the pilgrim's everyday life. The association with a lake or holy fountain<sup>84</sup> and its pre-Christian tradition is common at shrines.

Records of local pilgrimages are extremely rare, but it is known that the feast days of churches' patron saints frequently attracted visitors from outside the immediate parish. The sites of former Romanian monasteries that had been destroyed in the eighteenth century fall into this category; parish priests would appear there on such feast days to minister to the pilgrims. Such appears to have been the case with the Orthodox monastery church at Rimeți in an isolated gorge in the Munții Apuseni. The monastery was destroyed twice in the eighteenth century, when its monks rallied the people during the religious revolt of 1756-61, then again after the peasant revolt in 1785. The church was

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yearbook. Ipolyi, II, 254, noted the pilgrimage in passing. Johann Michael Salzer, a professor at the Gymnasium in Mediasch, visited the lake between 1855 and 1857. He wrote that the chapel was a ruin, but pilgrims still came there every year on St. Anne's day carrying crosses and wreaths of roses-- Salzer, Reisebilder aus Siebenbürgen (Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhaussen, 1860), 125.

83. Orbán, II, 121.

84. Turner, 239; William A. Christian, Jr., Person and God in a Spanish Valley (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), 61-78; Ipolyi, II, 248; Salzer, 124; Bálint, 196.

dedicated to the Spring of Healing or Spring of the Mother of God, the only Orthodox Marian feast during the week of Easter. On this day, people came to receive water from the fountain under the church that had been blessed by the local priest.<sup>85</sup>

The Roman Catholics near Toplița, in Torda county on the border of Csík, gathered during the nineteenth century at a newly built chapel near some old ruins on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul. The Szeklers believed that the ruins marked the site of a Hungarian monastery, but more likely they were the remains of a destroyed Orthodox monastery.<sup>86</sup>

The Romanians of several villages north of Reghin maintained the oral tradition of a medieval Orthodox monastery there, and annually assembled at its ruins on Pentecost.<sup>87</sup>

A peculiarity of Transylvanian Orthodox piety was the

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85. Emilian [Birdaș, Orthodox] Episcop de Alba Iulia, "Mănăstirea Rimeți, vatra de spiritualitate ortodoxă," in Episcopia Ortodoxă Română de Alba Iulia, Indrumător pastoral 5 (1981), 116-36. When I visited the monastery (rebuilt in 1941) during the feast on April 27, 1984, several hundred local people from nearly villages came with containers to collect water from the fountain. On the feast day, see The Year of Grace of the Lord. A Scriptural and Liturgical Commentary on the Calendar of the Orthodox Church (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980), 181.

86. Orbán, II, 137. The latter conclusion was reached by the historian László Kováry. László Székely lists eleven other intervillage shrines in Csík and Gyergyó, with their pilgrimage dates: "A csíki székeleyek aszkézise," Vigilia 42,3 (1977), 164.

87. Nicolae Feier, "Mănăstirea "Ruga" de la Gledin. Legenda sau istorie?," in Arhiepiscopia Ortodoxă Română a Vadului, Feleacului și Clujului, Indrumător bisericesc, misionar și patriotic 8 (1985), 85-7. No such ruins could be identified by the author, but he cites three folk songs about the monastery's founding.



eneration of shrines in the Romanian Principalities.

Several monasteries and bishoprics in the valleys on the far slope of the Carpathians long exerted an influence in

Transylvania, and were commonly visited by transhumant shepherds. The ballad of Master Manole, dealing with the medieval founding of the Argeş Monastery, was popular in

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Transylvania as well as Wallachia. The hermitage in the

Ialomita gorge across the border from Kronstadt attracted many visitors from Transylvania, who ascribed healing powers

to the monks there. In cases of incurable disease, wrote

Salzer, the Ialomiţa hermitage was the last resort. He knew

of a Romanian from near Mediasch who sold his livestock in

1856 to finance a pilgrimage to Ialomiţa with his ill

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son.

Transylvanian shrines were often also the sites of gatherings not strictly religious in nature, but that were important social events and interconfessional: health resorts and matchmaking fairs. Shrines often developed around springs, and in the case of Borszék the resort (of nineteenth-century provenance) and the shrine coincided. The most

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88. Mircea Eliade discusses Romanian and Balkan variants of the ballad and its controversial relationship with the Hungarian construction myth about the citadel of Deva in Hunyad county; "Master Manole and the Monastery of Arges," in Eliade, Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God. Comparative Studies in the Religions and Folklore of Dacia and Eastern Europe (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 164-90. Chapter IX will discuss the Transcarpathian bishoprics and transhumance in greater detail.

89. Salzer, 183-4. Boner apparently visited the same hermitage (Boner, 281-2), but took a more lugubrious view of its inhabitants and their lifestyle.

important resort in nineteenth-century Transylvania, Előpatak in Háromszék, was not in itself a religious shrine. The cream of Transylvanian society congregated there each summer, including several bishops, and aristocrats and royalty from neighboring countries as well. The Romanian bishops would meet each other and their colleagues and other political leaders from south of the Carpathians.<sup>90</sup> Prince Miloš Obrenović of Serbia spent much of his exile there and built an Orthodox church before his return to the throne in 1858. On the opposite end of the social scale, the match-making fair (leányvásár, tîrgul de fete) was a basic institution for both Hungarians and Romanians. It was the chief means for young peasants to meet marriageable counterparts from other villages. Two of the most important mating fairs were at the Greek Catholic pilgrimage to Máriapócs on the feast of the prophet Elijah, July 20, and in the Gaina range of the Munții Apuseni near the watershed of three rivers. Priests performed the betrothal ceremonies, which were accompanied by traditional dances and dramatic performances. Not only Hungarian Catholics, but Reformed as well<sup>91</sup> often frequented the matchmaking fairs at nearby shrines.

The celebration of church feasts was a community event in ordinary villages as well as at the major shrines. The major church seasons and feasts-- Advent and Christmas, New Years and Epiphany, Lent and Easter, and Pentecost-- fea-

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90. On the connection of Șaguna and Șuluțiu with Előpatak, see VIII-IX.

91. Balint, 198.

tured many popular customs, of which the most colorful were the dramatic presentations. Among the best-known were the nativity plays (bethlehemes játékok) performed by groups of ten Roman Catholic villagers in the Szekler region during the Christmas season.<sup>92</sup> Somewhat similar were the Romanian Christmas plays, called Irozii (Kings or Magi). Picu Pătruț composed several between 1837 and 1841, which were widely performed thereafter. The Roman Catholic tradition of passion plays was unknown among the Romanians, but Pătruț wrote a Romanian passion play in 1852. It became known throughout the Săliște area and as far away as Blaj and Kronstadt.<sup>93</sup>

Despite ethnic and local variations too numerous to mention, it is fair to emphasize the basic similarity of the religious themes. This was true especially in Transylvania, where the nationalities shared many customs that were unknown in Hungary proper.<sup>94</sup> The clergy led public liturgical processions on the most important feast days, but

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92. The performers were welcome in neighboring villages, including many Protestant ones, during Christmas week. In the Szekler Bethlehem play cited by Orbán (II, 151-6), the dialogue of the five shepherds includes many Romanian passages. Orbán explains this fact by the desire for a more realistic portrayal, since most shepherds in the region were Romanians. It is plausible that some of the players were partially Magyarized Greek Catholics; see Chapter VII.

93. Octavian Ghibu and Crișan Mircioiu, "Repere privind viața și opera lui Picu Pătruț," in Picu Pătruț, 39.

94. Géza Roheim, Magyar néphit és népszokások (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1925), 334-9; Tekla Dömötör, Naptári ünnepek--népi színjátás (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1979), 95. The Pentecost dances of the Lutheran Csangos south of Kronstadt (Roheim, 205-13) were unlike those of any other Hungarians, but similar to the Romanian căluș practiced in both Transylvania and south of the Carpathians.

other public processions of modern or older origin were also common. For instance, the young men of the town of Gyergyó-szentmiklós would mark the beginning of Lent by conducting the pastor from the rectory to church for the Ash Wednesday mass while singing the Rákóczi March, while every Easter the people of Szekler villages would conduct a procession around their crops and pray for a good harvest. These customs were most common among Roman Catholics, but also practiced by other communities. It is often difficult to determine whether they developed from pre-Christian practices or from Christian liturgies that the other religious groups later abandoned.<sup>95</sup> Many holiday customs transcended ethnic differences, and in the case of the dramatic ones the dividing line was most often between the ritualistic churches and the Protestants.

From the fifteenth century on the Hungarians, regardless of religion, commonly used names for the months based on the church feasts. They were still common in Hungarian correspondence in the 1860s:

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95. Bálint, "Húsvéti vallásos népszokásaink," Ethnographia 48 (1937), 54-61; Dömötör, Naptári ünnepek, 202-6. Orbán (vol. 2, 105) noted the custom in Gyergyó-szentmiklós. The Rákóczi March reinforced national identity, since Rákóczi had fought against the Habsburgs in the early eighteenth century.

Boldogasszony hava	Month of the Blessed Virgin	January
Böjtelő hava	First Month of Lent	February
Böjtmás hava	Second Month of Lent	March
Szent György hava	Month of St. George	April
Pünkösöd hava	Month of Pentecost	May
Szent Iván hava	Month of St. John	June
Szent Jakab hava	Month of St. James	July
Kisasszony hava	Month of the Assumption	August
Szent Mihály hava	Month of St. Michael	September
Mindszent hava	Month of All Souls	October
Szent András hava	Month of St. Andrew	November
Karácsony hava	Month of Christmas	December (96

Most churches used the Gregorian calendar, but the Greek Catholics and Orthodox used the Julian calendar, which was twelve days later, for their liturgical cycle. This and other peculiarities of the liturgical calendar meant that the dates of religious feast days, the chief community celebrations, were different for the Romanians. Since baptism, confirmation, and as a rule weddings, Christening relations (Godparents) and elementary schools were separated according to religion, this meant that the Romanians shared almost no social events with the other nationalities. The disjuncture of calendars grows in significance if one considers that calendar customs are generally oriented toward large groups, hence community-building. The life-cycle customs, more strictly controlled by the churches, do not build community in the same way because they are performed for individuals,<sup>97</sup> hence atomizing.

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96. Dömötör, Naptári ünnepek, 52.

97. Victor Turner, The Ritual Process (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), cited by Kligman, Căluș. Symbolic Transformation in Romanian Ritual (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 134. Katherine Verdery points out the segregation of community life between Romanians and Germans in a southern Transylvanian village for religious and economic reasons: Transylvanian Vilagers. Three Centuries of Political,

Differences in the church calendar also affected work practices, since the churches discouraged physical work on feast days and fasting often reduced the capacity to work. The eastern church had forty feast days in addition to Sundays when work was discouraged, and fast days, much more strict than even those of the Roman Catholics, comprised one third to over half of the year.<sup>98</sup> Barițiu charged that the large number of holidays in the Romanian churches was an obstacle to economic and cultural progress. He appealed to the priests: "Dear fathers, let us not keep the people in blindness, let us not force them to observe the church holidays."<sup>99</sup> County officials complained in 1862 that the Romanian clergy was encouraging people to believe that natural disasters could be prevented by abstaining from work on not only the established holy days, but others as well. Șuluțiu denounced such a view as "superstition" and assured his flock that diligence was the chief source of material well-

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Economic, and Ethnic Change (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 243-5.

98. Ware, 304-7. Kligman cites a figure of 200 days (The Wedding of the Dead, 62); Boner, one-half (p. 426); Aurel Radutiu's historical study yields a far lower figure for state-approved holidays: "Timp de lucru și zile de sărbătoare în Transilvania (sec. XVII-XVIII)," in Civilizație medievală și modernă românească. Studii istorice (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1985), 215-33. Boner cited a contemporary writer's view that the harshness of Orthodox fasting led to a greater number of murders during Lent, and suggested that fasting "may also have something to do with the indolence of the people."

99. Articles in Călinădarul pentru poporul românesc, 3-4 (1854-5), cited by Gh.E. Marica, "George Barițiu, editor și redactor al "Călinădarului pentru poporul românesc," (1852-1865)," in Marica, Studii de istoria și sociologia culturii române ardeleni din secolul al XIX-lea, II (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1978), 46.

being.

Such clerical admonitions against popular outgrowths of traditional Christian practices had become rare by the nineteenth century. Protestant ministers during the Reformation railed against identifiably Catholic or nonscriptural practices such as the dramatic presentations and the blessing of

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crops and buildings. Their sanctions were mostly successful, while the non-Protestant clergy was less disturbed by these practices and they survived in their communities.

An ironic consequence was that Protestant villagers were sometimes not only attracted to the Catholic dramatic presentations for entertainment, but would resort to the services of the Catholic clergy for the blessing of crops, animals and buildings. Rituals for special circumstances appealed to the peasants' sense of magic, and they might go to churches other than their own if it did not offer satisfying rituals. For this reason many Hungarians and Saxons regarded masses or curses said by Romanian priests to be especially effective, and would request them in cases of

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great need or enmity.

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100. Alsó-Fehér county to Crenneville, May 9, 1862; Crenneville to Şuluţiu, May 10, 1862; pastoral letter of Şuluţiu, July 28, 1862-- AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG. 1862/565.

101. Dömötör, Naptári ünnepek, 153-6.

102. Olga Nagy, "Vallásos élet Havadon. A népi vallásosság mint integráló erő," in Tüskés, ed., 502-3. A Hungarian ethnographer reported that Szeklers sometimes had an Orthodox mass said at the time of their Catholic wedding in order to "fix" it. Lajos Balázs, "Adatok a Csíkszentdomoski lakodalom egykori hiedelemvilágához," in Acta Hargitensia I (Miercurea-Ciuc, 1980), 248. The practice may derive from the former religious adherence of the people involved, as the village earlier had a large number of

Many beliefs concerning curses, spirits and death were prevalent in rural society. Transylvanians of all nationalities and religions, for instance, continued during the 1860s to bury the dead with articles that would assist them on their journey to heaven: bread, candles, and money. Boner wrote that many Saxons and Szeklers believed in witches, while an Orthodox priest asserted that "the bad harvest was owing to the number of witches in the land, and it would not be better until they were exterminated."<sup>103</sup> Urban intellectuals viewed such customs scornfully, as superstitions. The case of the exhumation of a person believed to be a strigoi (witch) in August, 1862 is instructive. Members of the Romanian village of Peșteana in Hunyad county, which was suffering from a cattle plague, sought to right their misfortune by digging up the suspected person and impaling him. The prefect complained indignantly to Governor Crenneville about the incident, and he called on Șuluțiu to impress upon his clergy and people the shameful-ness of the practice. Șuluțiu delivered the requested admonishment, after a delay of two months, in his circular of November 22. Describing the practice in detail, he concluded:

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Magyarized Greek Catholics; see Chapter VII.

103. Roheim, 163-78; Boner, 368. Referring to the Romanian spells relating to the weather, the Saxon Friedrich Muller wrote in 1854 (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens und des Hexenprocesses in Siebenbürgen) that Romanian priests were experts in the prevention of hail; cited by Ovidiu Bîrlea, Istoria folcloristicii românești (București: Editura enciclopedică română, 1974), 113.



Therefore we remind you and demand, as we have repeatedly in the past, to unceasingly ensure that such abuses, harmful to religion and compromising to our nation itself, not happen again. ( 104

Whether or not Romanian clergymen of the type described by Boner were common, Şuluţiu considered such incidents harmful to national prestige.

Church records of the period are not as informative about popular religion and folk beliefs as later ethnographic studies would lead one to hope. Higher education predisposed many clergymen to be unsympathetic to popular practices despite their rural origins. Popular dances, songs, and legends were often suspect because of the pre-Christian beliefs which underlay many of them.<sup>105</sup> Hence the periodic church regulations against dancing and singing did not arise solely from moral Puritanism. Despite the vividness of Roman Catholic popular religion, it is interesting that Roman Catholic clergymen were less helpful to pioneer ethnographers than their colleagues in the other churches.<sup>106</sup>

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104. Letter of Crenneville to Şuluţiu, September 18, 1862, and circular of Şuluţiu, November 22. AS Alba Iulia. MRU, FG. 1862/962. There is no evidence here of further correspondence on the matter.

105. Ipolyi, a Catholic pastor in Pozsony county in Hungary, stated in his 1854 work that folk beliefs supplied the "basic text" of legends, ballads and fairy tales, and the sources for these tales subscribed to the beliefs even if they were ashamed to admit it. (I, 25). Olga Nagy found that the legends of saints' lives survived only in Catholic villages, since belief in them was a precondition for their maintenance in oral tradition (Nagy, 503).

106. Thus Ipolyi complained that his written requests to acquaintances for folk material received a very modest response. One correspondent wrote that "my nearly thirty letters on this matter had no success, [my] good friends even declined to reply to such requests..."--I, 31. János Kriza and his friends had little luck in their attempts to

A minority of clergymen did investigate ballads and superstitions and became the first ethnographers of their respective nations. Bishop Şaguna appealed to his clergy and teachers in an 1859 pastoral letter to send popular tales and songs to the ethnographer Marienescu. It is unclear how much assistance they provided him, since most of his data predated 1859.<sup>107</sup> The typical method of collection was for the clergy and teachers to have students in the church schools collect material from their own villages. The interest in the spiritual world of uneducated common people was atypical for the intelligentsia in general, and several clerical pioneer ethnographers of the 1860s stood out also for their moderately liberal political views. Three of the most important were János Kriza, Ioan Micu Moldovan and Franz Obert.

The aristocratic establishment in the Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet scornfully rejected the Unitarian minister János Kriza's lecture in 1860 on popular Szekler ballads, and some complained about anti-aristocratic elements in the ballads he published in 1863. Yet in 1861, in what was considered a stunning upset, he was elected Unitarian Bishop. Most of his material came from Unitarian ministers and school-teachers. The presbytery disliked his preoccupation with

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collect Szekler ballads through the Catholic clergy between 1862 and 1866, and as a result Csík and Gyergyó are not represented in his publications. János Faragó, "János Kriza és a Vadrózsák," in Antal Árpád et al., Kriza János (Kolozsvár: Dacia, 1971), 105-7.

107. Bîrlea, 138; Tulbure, 226-7.

folk tales and sought to undermine it by giving him other  
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things to do.

Franz Obert, a veteran of the revolution of 1848 in Leipzig and author of radical poetry, collected Romanian folk tales while serving as professor at the Lutheran Gymnasium in Mediasch and before becoming a village parson in 1860. Later he was elected to the Transylvanian diet and the Reichsrat, where he joined the liberal opposition and incurred the wrath of the Saxon establishment. 109

Ioan Micu Moldovan was a Greek Catholic professor and later canon in Blaj who collected folk ballads beginning in 1862; he was also a supporter of the movement for lay participation in Greek Catholic church synods, and editor of the protocols of the synod of Blaj in 1868. 110 Their intellectual preoccupations were symptomatic of their social and political attitudes.

A special case in the history of clerical ethnographers was the Moldavian Csango Catholic priest, Incze János

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108. Faragó, 100-105, 137-41. On Kriza's election: Kelemen Gál, "Kriza János püspökké választása," Keresztény Magvető 89 (1983), 163-70. It should be noted that the important mainstream Protestant intellectuals Imre Mikó and Pál Gyulai fully supported his work. A contemporary wrote concerning his deficient church leadership: "Igen ritka, becsületes, derék ember, de véghetetlen gyenge, erélytelen püspök volt, aki a gyűléseken sokszor azt sem tudta, hogy miről foly a tanácskozás." (Gál, 169).

109. Anca Goția, "Preocupări ale cărturarilor germani din Banat și Transilvania pentru folclorul românesc în secolul al XIX-lea," in Studii de istorie a naționalității germane și a înfrățirii ei cu națiunea română, II (București: Editura politică, 1981), 271-5; Carl Göllner, "Franz Obert. Leben und Wirken," Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde 17 (1974), 5-40.

110. Bîrlea, 198-200.

Petrás. Petrás (1813-86) studied in Eger, where he became a Minorite monk and was ordained in 1836. He returned to the Csango villages as a missionary, and served in a parish there from 1838 until his death. Coming into contact with the scholar Döbrentei from Pest, he sent many reports to the Hungarian Academy concerning Csango religious life, especially texts of hymns. Döbrentei published Petras' answers to his questionnaire on Csango life and fifty-two of his song texts<sup>111</sup> in 1842. After 1868, Petrás was in regular contact with the Szent-László Társulat in Pest<sup>112</sup>, and published many additional song texts.

Church social functions extended beyond liturgical or pious practices. All churches were a pillar of the social order in the traditional Transylvanian community. One example of this was the strict regulation of seating arrangements in most of the church buildings during liturgies. Men and women were segregated, and church functionaries, people of higher birth and other prestigious families enjoyed places of honor that could be inherited or purchased. Poor members of the community were seated in the rear or not at all. In a ritual context, this practice reflected and served to legitimate the stratified nature of the village or town, and therefore the civil authorities insisted on its observance. Greek Catholic churches in Transylvania also

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111. Republished in Pál Péter Domokos, "...édes Hazámnak akartam szolgálni..." (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1979), 1321-51, 1358-80.

112. On this society, see Chapter IX.

had pews with prescribed seating arrangements, but Orthodox churches were as a rule without pews. As the result of the peasant emancipation and increasing social mobility in the nineteenth century, many villages adopted seating by family rather than social category, while others were content to observe only the segregation of the sexes.<sup>113</sup>

The churches sought to ensure the practice of baptism, church marriage and attendance at services by their members, but also acted in conjunction with the civil authorities to identify and punish adultery, theft, drunkenness, and the disturbance of the Sunday rest by dancing or rowdiness. The parish court (H. megyeszék)<sup>114</sup> was very often the court of first instance, particularly in the religiously homogenous villages of the Szekler region. The civil authorities, for their part, considered the observance of religious norms a component of responsible citizenship. Those rare individuals who defied community censure by not attending church regularly or cohabited without church marriage were considered socially dangerous. In the military frontier, the authorities required attendance at matins, sermon, mass and

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113. Ernő Tárkány Szűcs, Magyar jogi népszakások (Budapest: Gondolat, 1981), 100-3; Márton Tarisznyás, Gyergyó történeti néprajza (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1982), 236-7; Imreh, 118; Hans-Achim Schubert, Nachbarschaft und Modernisierung. Eine historische Soziologie traditionaler Lokalgruppen am Beispiel Siebenbürgens (Köln: Böhlau, 1980), 163; Fabini, 54; Boner, 64; Ware, 275-6. The presence of pews, very unusual in the Orthodox world, can be observed today in many old Transylvanian churches that were formerly Greek Catholic, like the Lipoveni church in Gyulafehérvár referred to in Chapter VIII.

114. The word megye, used elsewhere to denote county, often meant parish in the Szekler region.

vespers every Sunday, at Sunday school by the children, and confession at Eastertime. Attendance was also important because official announcements were often read after the service. The ringing of church bells at dawn, noon and sundown punctuated daily life in all communities.<sup>115</sup> Many rural Romanian churches had not a bell but a wooden sounding board called a toaca.

The coherence of the church and village community was especially well-developed in the Fundus Regius through the system of Nachbarschaft. Each locality and parish contained several of these, which heightened religious, economic, and administrative cooperation on the most local level. The statute of each Nachbarschaft specified penalties for unethical and disorderly behavior in and outside the church. The Nachbarvater called all members to a Versöhnabend four times each year, where feuds and ill feelings were put aside in a quasiliturgical ceremony of Christian reconciliation.<sup>116</sup> A German contemporary stated that the Nachbarschaft, which was common among the Romanians as well as the Saxons of the Fundus Regius, led to an admirable absence of criminality and begging, and to good cooperation

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115. Imreh, A törvényhozó Székely falu, 99, 103-4, 108-16; Ibid., "Strămoși și moravuri în scaunul filial Cristur," in Viața cotidiană la Secui, 42-7; Tarisznyás, 240-1. The bell-ringer collected special fees when ringing to announce the death of a community member. In a poetic passage of his memoirs, Franz Obert recalled that the churchbells, near and far, of neighboring churches and villages often rang one after another, creating a peculiar sense of communion; "Lebenserinnerungen," ms. pp. 21-3, in AS Sibiu, Fondul Franz Obert.

116. Schubert, 156-62.

between the clergy, elders and officials. While not contesting this picture, foreigners were struck by the villagers' uniformity of thought, collective spirit, and lack of individual spontaneity, particularly among the Saxons.<sup>117</sup> There was no counterpart to the Nachbarschaft in the counties.

The punitive authority of the churches declined with time, but each parish and congregation still exercised a strong influence on the moral behavior of the villagers. This was especially true in the case of the Protestant churches, where liturgical practices played a relatively minor role. Presbytery records show that Reformed congregations exacted fines, public censure or, in the most grievous cases, the denial of the sacraments and virtual exclusion from the community. Lutheran parishes practiced public censure with the use of a "stone of shame" hung around the neck of the offender. In contrast to the relative weakness of ritual practices, the Reformed Church very successfully inculcated the Calvinist ethic of sobriety and diligence. The punishment of public penance, or eklézsiakövetés, was still not uncommon in the mid-nineteenth century and very powerful and feared in the Reformed congregations. Similar practices were more rarely recorded in Roman Catholic<sup>118</sup> parishes.

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117. Joseph A. von Grimm, Die politische Verwaltung in Siebenbürgen, II (Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhausen, 1856), 78-9; Fabini, 53-6; Boner, 473-4.

118. Imreh, A törvényhozó székely falu, 111-12; Boner, 373; Olga Nagy, "A vallásos élet Havadon (A népi vallásosság

A more extreme form of sanction, anathema, was occasionally practiced in the ritualistic churches. Anathema or excommunication were rare in the Roman Catholic Church by the nineteenth century. But well-informed churchmen could hardly be ignorant of Pope Pius IX's writ of excommunication in 1860 against Italians who accepted civil office in the territories formerly ruled by the Pope:

...they have been excommunicated and fallen subject to the various other punishments of the Church... and we state the excommunication against them anew, as well as that in punishment they shall be deprived of every privilege, grace and favor they had been accorded by us or our predecessors, the Roman Popes... 119

Some sources unfriendly to the Romanian clergy charged that they practiced anathema or a curse against disobedient parishioners. Boner and Ürmössy wrote that the pastors controlled the voting in the electoral campaign of 1863 by the threefold solemn invocation of afurisenie (anathema) in church. Offenders were threatened with various forms of personal and family disaster including final damnation. 120

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mint integráló erő), " in Tüskés, ed., 504-15.

119. Cited in József Fessler, Az egyházi átok és következményei. A második bővített kiadás után magyarította s kiadta néhány Pázmány-intézeti növendék. (Bécs: Schweiger Antal nyomdájában, 1860), 44-5. The Hungarian text first appeared in Pest in the daily Idők Tanúja.

120. "...a ki ez ellen merészelt volna tenni: megnyomorékosodik, megsántul, siketül, vakul, gyermekeiben szerencsétlen lesz, marhajából, vagyonából kipusztul s a csapások minden kigondolható nemei utoléri harmadízig; és végre a pokolban tüzes üstben szarvas ördögök fűzik meg."-- Lajos Ürmössy, Tizenhét év Erdély történetéből, II (Temesvár: Nyomtatott a Csanád-egyházmegyei könyvsajton, 1894.) Boner, 369, is less poetic: "Not only you, but your children will be cursed, if you vote for the Count"-- words of the pope at B--, to those who voted at the elections for a well-known Hungarian nobleman, a man of great nobility. Those who did



Boner reported that in one sermon a Romanian priest

told his hearers that a stone had fallen from heaven, and in it was a letter to Bishop Schaguna, in which God ordered him to tell the people, that if they did not fast and pray more regularly, and lead a better life, He would send an army of grasshoppers into the land...and they would destroy their harvests, and would afterwards attack them, and the people would not be able to shake them off.

Chided by the Lutheran parson for his exaggeration, the popa replied:

"It is all very well for you to laugh, but your people are more sensible; mine are stupid; and when I set to work with them, I am forced to give hard blows...I must startle and frighten them. Were I to talk as you do, it would have no effect whatever."<sup>121</sup>

Such stories were denied by the Romanian press, and certainly fail to explain the Romanian electoral success in 1863. However, in view of oriental liturgical practices and the poverty of the Romanian flock they are plausible. No accounts have come down to us of politically motivated anathema by the Hungarian or Saxon clergy during this period. On the other hand "secular anathema," or the public ostracism of collaborators or political dissidents, was common. Schmerling's Hungarian allies became socially "impossible"<sup>122</sup> in Hungary after 1867.

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so were interdicted from entering the church." Moldován, 547-8, also cites the practice, stating that "a babonával összekevert vallási fogalmakat a balkáni görögség és szláv-ság öntötte a nép lelkébe, a tisztultabb gondolkozást a Romával való unió indította meg."

121. Boner, 368-9. Boner compared the "blind obedience" of the "grossly ignorant" clergy to that of the Catholic priests in Ireland.

122. A prime example is the Transylvanian journalist László Kőváry, who became very unpopular after publicly

The ability of the clergy to enforce its authority in society depended upon the recognized legitimacy of that authority. In one sense this was a formal legal distinction. The Transylvanian state provided its assistance in the enforcement of canon law in traditional society. The exclusivity of Catholic canon law was abandoned in the sixteenth century, and the parallelism of other churches' canon law gradually recognized over the next three centuries, but all ecclesiastic jurisdiction in civil affairs was finally abolished only in 1895.<sup>123</sup> Religious belief allowed considerable power to a curse, anathema or moral sanction. If a person feared the efficacy of such measures by the clergy or religious community, their power over him was real.<sup>124</sup> Religious feeling in many ways enhanced the ability of the clergy to engage in nationalist politics. It remains to be seen how politics, and even religious feeling, worked during this time to undermine clerical authority.

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## Secularization

Secularization was a central phenomenon in both western and central Europe, including Hungary, during the generation

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 advocating the Hungarians' participation in the diet of 1863-4. József Bálint, introductory study to Kőváry, Tájképek utazási rajzokban (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1984), 47.

123. Alexandru Herlea, "Procesul laicizării dreptului în Transilvania," in Studii de istorie a dreptului. Organizarea de stat (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1983, 285-9.

124. Kligman documented the capacity of belief in spirits to cause illness, trances and healing during an archaic dance festival in southern Romania in the 1970s: Căluș, 66-83.

following 1848. Its meaning broadened beyond the original sense of state expropriation of church lands to encompass the areas of politics and culture. The term was very often polemical: for liberals it meant the liberation from church tutelage and obscurantism, while conservatives deplored it as de-Christianization and the renunciation of a fundamental cultural tradition. A useful definition is that of Peter L. Berger: "By secularization we mean the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols." In terms of mentality, "an increasing number of individuals... look upon the world or their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations." There is a third component of secularization that does not figure in this definition: beyond the loosening of institutional bonds and the change in personal outlook, theological and structural impulses, the "secularization of religion," transformed the churches

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themselves. The areas of education, the press, and politics offer evidence concerning secularization in

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 125. Owen Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 17-18; László Kósa, "A vallási közönyösség növekedése Magyarországon a 19. század közepén," Népi kultúra-- Népi társadalom 13 (1983), 211.

126. Martin Heckel, Korollarien zur Säkularisierung (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1981), passim. (an exploration of the various meanings of the term since its appearance in Germany in 1646; Peter L. Berger, The Social Reality of Religion (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 106-8 [title of the American edition: The Sacred Canopy]; Paul Michael Zulehner, Säkularisierung von Gesellschaft, Person und Religion. Religion und Kirche in Österreich (Wien: Herder, 1973), 56-62.

Transylvania.

Hungarian religious writers of the mid-nineteenth century, both Protestant and Catholic, complained of declining attendance in church, hostility toward the clergy, a refusal to pay clerical tithes and salaries, and a neglect of religious education and prayer in the family. Bishop Bodola wrote in his circular of April 23, 1863 that "religious fervor-- not everywhere, and in everything, but generally-- has degenerated into Phariseism, lukewarmness, or even iccoldness." He designated this problem as the chief concern of the Dés synod of the following June.

Saxon and, more rarely, Romanian writers reported similar cases.  
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Education had an enormous influence on religious attitudes, since almost all schools were church-run. Even the state Gymnasium in Hermannstadt was still essentially a Catholic institution. Instructors were either clergymen or else closely supervised by the church. Where students at secondary schools came from various religious backgrounds, the local churches commonly provided instructors in religion for their coreligionists who were excused from instruction  
128  
in the religion which controlled the school.

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127. Kósa, 213-25; Aus der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des königlichen freien Marktes Agnetheln (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1900), 219; Samuel Bodola, "Képvisélet, successio, es mas teendok Anyaszentegyházunkban," Erdélyi Református Anyaszentegyházmegyei Névkönyv 1862, 20. Bodola's printed circular is preserved in AS Cluj-Napoca. Colegiul reformat din Cluj, No. 450.

128. Documents concerning the 75 Orthodox pupils in the Roman Catholic and Lutheran schools in Kronstadt in 1860-61, in Sibiu, AMOR 1861/645.

Table 8: Elementary School Enrollment, 1860-65

	Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Population:Pupil	
Gr. Catholic	767	736			
Orthodox	704	729	34,577	18.4:1	
Rom. Catholic			15,563	16.4:1	
Reformed			24,731	12.8:1	
Unitarian			4,170	12.3:1	
Lutheran		750	29,803	6.8:1	(129)

The very incomplete, only very roughly comparable comparable data for elementary school attendance permit the conclusion that the Lutherans were by far the most successful in enrolling the youth in elementary schools, the Reformed and Unitarians less so, and the three ritualistic churches least of all. This conclusion is confirmed by Karoly Keleti, who had access to unpublished data for 1869. He calculated that the percentage of Transylvanian school-age children who actually enrolled was 84% for the Lutherans, 48% for the Unitarians, 42% for the Reformed, 41% for the Roman Catholic, 35% for the Greek Catholic, and 31% for the Orthodox; according to nationality, 80% for Germans, 42% for Hungarians, and 33% for Romanians. The funda-

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 129. Șerban Polverejan, "Contribuții privind școlile românești din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea," in Cumidava 2 (1968), 207-8; Șaguna to Crenneville, January 23, 1862, in Sibiu, AMOR 1862/6; Haynald's school circular of July 28, 1862, in Racul-Ciuc, Parohia romano-catolica; Erdélyi Református Anyaegyházmegye Névkönyve, 1861, 98; Az Erdélyi Nagyfejedelemség tiszti névtára 1864; "Statistische Übersicht der evangelischen Volks-Lehrer und Schüler-Zahl A.B. in dem Grossfürstenthum Siebenbürgen...vom Verwaltungsjahr 1862," in AS Sibiu. Episcopia evanghelică C.A., Fondul Superintendențial 1862/208. Population figures were selected for the closest year available.

130. Keleti, 373. The figures calculated by the Austrian authorities before 1848 were considerably higher, but except

mental explanation is the system of economic support for the  
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schools referred to earlier. The geographic distribution  
of the population was also important. The urban concentra-  
tion of the Hungarian Protestants and especially the  
Lutherans was greater, and this led to larger and wealthier  
congregations to support the schools.

Table 9: Secondary School Enrollment, 1857

	Schools	Pupils	Orth	GC	RC	Ref	Unit	Luth
Orth.	1	90	85	5				
G.C.	1	435	33	400				
R.C.	9	1214	124	291	773	15	1	3
Ref.	6	1035	2	8	56	937	9	15
Unit.	3	284		1	14	22	239	6
Luth.	6	1008	139	46	73	31	3	710
Total	26	4066	383	751	1921	1005	252	986
Population:Pupils			1693	738	119	263	187	209
		(132)						

The profile of secondary school attendance presents a  
hierarchy that differs in interesting ways from that for  
elementary school enrollment. In all cases the percentage  
of elementary school pupils who advanced to secondary school  
was low, but Greek Catholics were more than twice as likely

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for those of the Unitarian schools (80-84% enrollment) the  
hierarchy was similar to that presented by Keleti. See  
Miskolczy, "Erdély a reformkorban (1830-1848)," 1259.

131. According to Miskolczy, contemporaries blamed poverty  
for poor school attendance for a different reason: the poor  
peasants needed their children's labor. Ibid., 1260. This  
in turn helps to account for the reluctance of the poor  
population to provide comparable material support for the  
schools, but also the limited capacity of poor villages to  
supply their schools even if they desired to do so. The two  
explanations are closely interrelated.

132. Gustav Adolph Schimmer, "Statistik der Lehranstalten  
des österreichischen Kaiserstaates für die Studienjahre  
1851-57," Mitteilungen aus dem Gebiete der Statistik 7, 4  
(1858), 44-7.

as Orthodox to attend secondary schools, while a far higher percentage of Roman Catholic youth attended secondary schools than in the case of the Protestants. In these cases the tremendous concentrated wealth of the Catholic bishoprics and schools, and the availability of the monastic clergy of the Latin rite as a teaching force, came into play. The consequence was that, in contrast to the general educational level of their population, Catholics constituted a disproportionately large segment of the educated elite among both the Romanians and Hungarians; in terms of education the Catholic community was polarized. Higher education brought exposure to religiously corrosive modern ideas, and it is reasonable to suppose that these proportions had implications for the degree of secularization.<sup>133</sup>

Yet it is important to distinguish the nature of secularization among Catholics and Protestants. The Reformation served to "disenchant" the world, barring "mystery, miracle, and magic." Consequently, Berger writes, while "the Catholic lives in a world in which the sacred is mediated to him through a variety of channels... Protestantism served as a historically decisive prelude to secularization." Furthermore, those intellectual movements which hastened secu-

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133. Michael Silber has found similar polarization among the Jews of nineteenth-century Hungary; "Assimilation and Acculturation of Hungarians and Jews in the Nineteenth Century," paper presented at Indiana University, November 12, 1987. On the other hand, in Hungary proper the rate of Catholic secondary school attendance in 1859 paralleled that for the primary schools. Sámuel Szeremlei, Vallás-erkölcsi és társadalmi élet 1848 óta Magyarországon (Budapest: 1874), 40, cited by Kosa, 217.

larization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, individualism, rationalism and liberalism, were much stronger in Protestant than in Catholic theology.<sup>134</sup> But the high secondary school enrollment in the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic churches in Transylvania helped to close the gap between them and the Protestant intellectuals and was an important element in the conflict between religious conservatism and liberalism which succeeding chapters will discuss.

Our information about literacy in Transylvania confirms the picture presented by school enrollment. Literacy is a broader category than school enrollment because it is not strictly dependent on school attendance, and reflects the entire population rather than school-age children in a particular year. Evidence from before 1848 indicates that the more free the social and legal status of the population, the more likely it was to be literate.<sup>135</sup> Keleti calculated a literacy rate (reading and writing) in Transylvania of 21.3% in 1869, as compared to 49.0% in Hungary proper. The urban population of Transylvania was far more literate (41.3%) than the rural (14.7%). Keleti did not calculate literacy according to religion, nationality or administrative region, but the percentages he publishes for the counties and districts confirm the relationship between social status and literacy:

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134. Berger, 111-13, 156-7.

135. Ambrus Miskolczy, "Az írti tudás és a társadalmi rétegződés Erdélyben az 1820-30-as években," A Ráday gyűjtemény évkönyve 2 (1981), 121-37.



Table 10: Illiteracy (No Reading, no Writing), 1869

Noble Counties and Districts				Fundus Regius	
Hunyad	94.5%	Torda	87.0%	Broos	83.7%
Doboka	93.2	Felső-Fehér	83.7	Reussmarkt	81.0
Belső-Szolnok	89.7	Küküllő	82.2	Mühlbach	79.9
Alsó-Fehér	89.6	Násáud	81.7	Leschkirch	68.7
Făgăras	87.7	Kolozs	80.9	Hermannstadt	59.2
Szekler Region				Mediasch	51.0
Csík	79.3			Grossschenk	50.2
Aranyos	75.6			Kronstadt	49.9
Maros	72.6			Reps	48.7
Háromszék	69.9			Bistritz	46.3
Udvarhely	59.8			Schässburg	44.7

Six Saxon districts were in the medium range for Hungary and Transylvania combined, the Szekler region followed, while the ten noble counties and districts were among the eighteen jurisdictions with the highest illiteracy rate in all

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Hungary and Transylvania. Bearing in mind the distribution of nationalities and religions, it is evident that illiteracy was highest among the Romanian former serfs,

lowest among the Saxons, in the intermediate range among the Hungarians but among these highest among the Roman Catholics, who predominated in Csík. The official figures from

1881 confirm this: 62.3% of the Germans in Transylvania could read and write, 31.4% of the Hungarians, and 8.9% of

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the Romanians.

What was the relationship of literacy and education to secularization? Contemporary Protestant clergymen and

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136. Keleti, 358-65.

137. "A magyar korona országaiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei megyék és községek részletezve," Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények vol. 61, cited by Szász, "Gazdaság és társadalom a kapitalista átalakulás korában," Erdély története III, 1510.

church writers seeking to hinder secularization tended to argue that the alienation from religion arose from a low cultural level and a superficial, hence vulnerable, understanding of the faith. Catholic clergy also recommended improved education to fight weak religious feeling ("indifference"), but with a special emphasis on the harmful liberal ideas that the schools must combat. The liberal Catholic Eötvös, on the other hand, blamed the alienation of lay Catholics on clericalism and the exclusion of the laity from church leadership.<sup>138</sup>

In contrast to the tendency to see culture and education as the prime instruments against irreligion, some Protestants and Catholics pointed out that the devotion to religious belief and customs was greatest in various mountainous, isolated areas which also had a high rate of illiteracy. Coldness toward religion, observable in all geographic settings, was most common in the towns. It was even fashionable in many circles to consider scorn for the church "a sign of culture and refinement."<sup>139</sup> Many historians and sociologists of other societies have observed that industry and market-oriented economic activity were the social locus of secularization. Hence men were more affected than women, middle-aged than young and old, urban than rural, industrial workers than traditional occupations,<sup>140</sup> and Protestants and Jews than Catholics.

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138. Kósa, 225-9. See Chapter V.

139. Ibid., 214-15.

140. Berger, 108 and 205, note 7. Gabriel LeBras, Études

The dissatisfaction with religious education and the demand for its improvement were not without basis. The rationalist trend was dominant in Protestant theology, and hence in the preparation of the Protestant clergy. Biblical criticism and historical theology raised the scholarly standards of theology, but seemed to many to open the door to relativism. Church history became the core of religious instruction in general education as well. Social relations and improvement became a principal rationale for church and pastoral activity. Contemporaries reported a declining level of piety and increasing worldliness of the clergy itself, not only among Protestants but also, more rarely, among Catholics as well. But the orientation of scholarship and religious practice favored by the Catholic church leadership was much more conservative.<sup>141</sup>

The differing attitude of the Protestant clergy on the one hand and the Catholic clergy and Austrian authorities on the other toward modern ideas also emerged, paradoxically, in respect to the connection between literacy and the Bible. Surely the spreading of the Word could only reinforce religion. The Reformation's call for the more general availability of the Bible was by the nineteenth century finally being put into effect, facilitated by mass literacy and improved printing and transportation. The Protestant

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de sociologie religieuse (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), is the most important study in this regard.

141. Kósa, 218, 223, 226; on Catholicism in the mid-nineteenth century, see Chapter V.

churches in Hungary published many new editions of the Bible, and welcomed the assistance in printing and distribution offered by the British and Foreign Bible Society (B.F.B.S.) But Habsburg authorities confiscated a shipment into Hungary by the B.F.B.S. in 1814, dissolved the newly founded Hungarian Bible Institute a few years later, and prohibited the importation of scriptures into Hungary in 1822. The Catholic clergy opposed the activity of the B.F.B.S., and the agents of the latter, with their stocks, were banished from the country between 1852 and 1867. Even in 1900, the B.F.B.S. reported concerning Hungary that "the Roman Catholic population were hostile, and little could be done among them."<sup>142</sup> Pope Gregory XVI condemned Bible societies and warned against vernacular translations in his<sup>143</sup> Encyclical Inter Praecipuas of 1844.

Churchmen were more uniformly open to the possibilities of religious influence offered by other printed media. The Lutheran head elder was traditionally also president of the premiere learned association of Transylvania, the Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, founded in 1840. The Reformed elder, Count Imre Mikó, headed the Hungarian counterpart of the Saxon group, the Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet, established in

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142. Comp. T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, II, pt. 2 (London: The Bible House, 1911), 768-70; British and Foreign Bible Society, 96th Report for the Year Ending 1900 (London: The Bible House, 1900), 53, 61-2.

143. The Papal Encyclicals 1740-1878, Claudia Carlin, IHM, ed. (S.l.: McGrath Publishing Company, 1981), 267-71.

1859. Religious involvement was even greater in the Aso-  
ciațiunea Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și Cultura  
Poporului Român (ASTRA, founded in 1861); its founding co-  
presidents and active leaders were Bishop Șaguna and Greek  
Catholic Canon Timotei Cipariu. During the absolutist 1850s  
many educated Transylvanians directed their efforts toward  
the study of their nation's past. Major historical syn-  
theses appeared in print, including some that remain im-  
portant resources for the scholars of today. Church history  
was prominent, especially source publication. Most histor-  
ians were also politicians of a liberal persuasion. Their  
works served not only to strengthen national consciousness  
on the eve of the 1860s, but also to legitimize the demands  
of the reformist elements in both secular and religious  
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poltics.

Historical research could have either a conservative or  
a reformist impact, and the same was true of journalism.  
Church-affiliated newspapers were established to present  
church affairs and combat irreligion, such as the Catholic

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144. Works of lasting significance by important figures  
in the 1860s included several by Georg Daniel Teutsch:  
Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das Sächsiche Volk  
(1854 ff.), Das Zehntrecht der evangelischen Landeskirche  
A.B. in Siebenbürgen (1858), and Urkundenbuch der evangel-  
ischen Landeskirche in Siebenbürgen (1862 ff.); László  
Kőváry, Erdély történelme (1859-66) and Erdély története  
1848-49-ben (1861); Károly Veszely, Erdélyi egyháztörténelmi  
adatok (1860 ff.); Andrei Șaguna, Elementele dreptului  
canonic (1854) and Istoria bisericească (1860); and  
Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu, Istoria Horii și a poporului  
românesc din Munții Apuseni ai Ardealului (1856). Attempts  
to publish the last work were unsuccessful, and it  
circulated only in manuscript form; see Chapter VIII.

Religió and Idők Tanúja (Budapest), the Romanian Orthodox Telegraful Român (Hermannstadt, established 1853), and the Reformed Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap (Budapest, reestablished in 1858 after a ten-year interlude). The first three were not only confessional but conservative, while the latter represented a liberal standpoint on both secular and church affairs. One symptom of the politicization of religion in the 1860s was the proliferation of church periodicals, like the Lutheran Saxon dailies Schul- und Kirchenzeitung and Kirche und Schule (Hermannstadt, 1862) and the Romanian Greek Catholic daily Aurora Română (Vienna, 1863), as well as the yearbooks Keresztény Magvető (Unitarian, 1861), Erdélyi Református Anyaszentegyházmegye Névkönyve (Reformed, 1861) and Gyulafehérvári Füzetek (Roman Catholic, 1861). Most of the new publications were at least moderately liberal, devoting attention to such issues as popular education and administrative and electoral reform. Franz Obert's Kirche und Schule was militantly reformist, polemizing with the secular press and its rival Lutheran paper until the latter was discontinued after an existence of only a few weeks.

The press was a major force in social change elsewhere in Europe at mid-century. Newspaper accounts created the possibility of vicarious, if not actual, political participation for the increasing reading public. If formerly the church had been the principal institution providing social identity, the press could now constitute a rival. Hence

contemporaries, including Pope Pius IX, felt that the press itself served to undermine religion. Even though the churches sought to use the press for their own ends, alternative, lay viewpoints came to dominate the press as a whole. Professional lay writers were writing about church matters from a non-clerical perspective, and often taking a critical attitude toward the institution.<sup>145</sup>

It was also in our period that the terms clericalism and anticlericalism came into use in Western Europe. Anticlericalism, which sought to combat all clerical influence in society, was strongest in those predominantly Catholic countries, especially Italy, France, and Spain, where the Catholic clergy was a powerful ally of the politically embattled conservative aristocracy.<sup>146</sup> Anticlericalism was rare in Transylvania, although here the share of the clergy in the entire intelligentsia, 21.9%, was far higher than anywhere in Hungary proper.<sup>147</sup> Anticlericalism occurred most often in areas where lay intellectuals or the nobility constituted a rival elite.<sup>148</sup> Elsewhere, the laity sought

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145. Chadwick, 37-43.

146. For a theoretical treatment of the problem of anticlericalism as well as a consideration of individual countries, see the articles in the special issue on anticlericalism of European Studies Review 13, 2 (1983).

147. The percentages for 1869 were calculated by János Maszu in "A hazai értelmiség fejlődésének néhány sajátossága a múlt század derekát követő évtizedekben," Magyar történeti tanulmányok 17 (1984), 38. Note that his definition of the intelligentsia is broader than the Western concept, which is limited chiefly to free professionals. It also includes professional (i.e. full-time) public and commercial officials.

148. The Romanian radical leader Simion Bărnuțiu and some of his allies expressed resentment at the conservative attitude of the higher clergy during the early phase of the revolu-

to share in social leadership but could not deny the vital contribution of the clergy to ethnic solidarity.

The desire to share in the leadership of the churches and schools, which generally stopped short of anticlericalism, can be observed in all churches in Transylvania. Formidable movements for electoral reform and organizational statutes existed in both the Lutheran and Reformed church districts. In these cases the lively press and synodal debates contributed to the general liberal tendency in secular politics, as well. Similar electoral and statutory demands arose, as we will see, in the three ritualistic churches.

There were three chief sources for the church reformist movements: spiritually inspired criticism of the existing church, the broader liberal movement, and liberalism. Pietist, Gallican and Eastern Orthodox attitudes toward lay participation in church leadership had a largely complementary impact in Transylvania, where the pattern of secondary school attendance assured that students of varying ethnic and religious backgrounds would be exposed to these ideas. Later, the Christian radicalism Of Lamennais had considerable appeal among Vormärz Hungarians and Romanians.<sup>149</sup>

After being interrupted in the decade of absolutism, these traditions revived during the 1860s. Their religious ori-

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tion of 1848; see Cheresteşiu, A balázsfalvi nemzeti gyűlés, 479; George Em. Marica et al., Ideologia generaţiei române de la 1848 din Transilvania, 254-5.

149. See later chapters for more detailed treatment of these ideas.



gins lent them intraecclesial legitimacy, but liberalism and nationalism were more important driving forces in the substantial achievement of reformist goals during the decade.

The European liberal tradition unquestionably also influenced these movements. The conventional identification of Enlightenment thought with protoliberalism should not obscure the fact that the liberal movement emerged in opposition to the petrified Josephinian state of the early nineteenth century; both of these were in their own way heirs of the Enlightenment. The Catholic Enlightenment in Austria inspired a Febronian and church constitutional tendency with a certain social conscience, but not opposed to princely absolutism; but also a romantic individualism that resisted state tutelage of the church and of society.<sup>150</sup>

The intellectuals frequently sought to restrict the influence of the clergy, but recognized the churches as a positive national force. The perpetuation of the national role of the churches took place at the same time as the secularization process continued. The role of the clergy in the intelligentsia of each nationality continued to decline, as did their role in politics. Between the 1840s and 1860s, the clergy declined from 31.3% to 14.4% of the intelligentsia in the Hungarian lands.<sup>151</sup>

Meanwhile, lay involvement in education and in eccles-

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150. Karl Eder, Der Liberalismus in Altösterreich. Geisteshaltung, Politik, und Kultur (Wien: Herold, 1955), 40-1, 63-9.

151. Mazsu, op.cit., 36.

iaistical administration led to increasing emphasis on secular criteria of effectiveness within each church. Clergymen increasingly conceived their function as much in terms of social betterment as in the salvation of their people.<sup>152</sup>

Religious values were often transferred to, and identified with, nationality. An extreme example is this statement in the organ of a Polish Roman Catholic bishop in 1861:

The chief duty of the clergy is to struggle for the reestablishment of the external and internal unity of Poland, and to use the power granted by faith and the Church, so that this power may be a certain path toward the victory of national freedom. (153)

Surveying his parish archives for the turbulent nineteenth century during the interwar period, the Roman Catholic pastor of Sibiu lamented that politics were decisive in the cases of religious conversions. Churches became identified in the popular consciousness with the nation they represented, and spirituality was less important than nationalism for religious identification.<sup>154</sup>

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Ritual is one of the most important determinants of religious experience. The churches in Transylvania with a

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152. E.g. see Friedrich Teutsch, Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen für das sächsische Volk, III, 386-7.

153. Paraphrased from Tygodnik katolicki, organ of the Archbishop of Gdynia-Poznań, in Reinhard Wittram, Nationalismus und Säkularisation. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Problematik des Nationalgeistes (Lüneburg: Heliand-Verlag, 1949), 35.

154. Adolf Vorbuchner, Historia Domus, II, 159, ms. in Sibiu, Parohia romano-catolica. Vorbuchner, who later became Bishop of Transylvania, was the author of the only popular history of the diocese: Az erdélyi püspökség (Brassó: Az Erdélyi Tudosító kiadása, 1925).

strong emphasis on ceremony and aesthetic experience, referred to by Max Weber as ritualistic churches, are the chief focus of the following chapters: the Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Orthodox. Ritual and doctrine provided for a far greater role of the clergy than was the case among the Protestants.

The clergy of the six Christian churches of the province can be distinguished according to its method of selection, training, and particularly economic support. The complex system of economic support included tithes, land allotments, church subsidies, emoluments, and state subsidies. The number of ecclesiastic personnel, the practice or non-practice of celibacy, and local peculiarities make a comparison difficult, but in general it may be said that the Saxon Lutheran clergy was the best educated and best provided for, and the Romanian Greek Catholic and Orthodox clergy the least well provided for.

The religious culture of the people may be characterized in terms of official and popular religion. Official religion consists of officially propagated doctrine and practices. The political tradition of the churches, which was largely determined by their relationship with the state, social position, and identity with one of the three principal ethnic groups of Transylvania, can also be considered part of official religion. Popular religion consists of practices evolving from official religion but not necessarily condoned by it. Formal art and architecture

were official sources of religious folk art. Popular religion was a source of commonalities among the ritualistic churches, especially through pilgrimage and dramatic customs. Many clergymen viewed popular religion with antagonism, but others with more democratic inclinations were among its pioneer observers.

The capacity of religion and the clergy to provide social and moral discipline declined with the process of secularization. Education and the press, albeit often sponsored by the churches, helped to undermine religiosity or respect for clerical prerogative. A comparison of religious, ethnic and geographic communities shows an approximate correlation between literacy, economic advancement, and lay activism. Secularization was at the root of much of the internal conflict in the ritualistic churches portrayed in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CATHOLICISM BETWEEN ULTRAMONTANISM AND LIBERALISM

The striking confluence of nationalism and religious identity in the late nineteenth century was not typical in the earlier history of the Catholic Church, even in Hungary. The church was a decidedly hierarchical and international organization. The clergy closely supervised the moral life of believers through regular confession, preaching and the educational system. A bull of Pope Gregory XVI (1831-46) condemned all lay activism as akin to Protestantism. It was the role of the clergy to lead, the Pope declared, and of the believers to serve. The parish clergy, in turn, must be the obedient servant of the diocesan bishop and the Pope.<sup>1</sup>

In the Roman Catholic liturgy as it was celebrated in the nineteenth century, the prescribed role of the laity was passe. The earlier idea of the Mass as a communal act, which has revived in our day, received little emphasis in the nineteenth century. Contemporaries remarked that the liturgy was viewed from afar, as an act of state symbolizing church authority, which the priest conducted in Latin with his back to the people. Those present at a festive high mass consisted of three distinct groups: the celebrating priests, the performing choir, and the attending believers who were often preoccupied with prayers for their own pri-

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1. Encyclical Mirari Vos (1832), in The Papal Encyclicals 1740-1878, 235-41.

vate intentions. In some cases diocesan prayer books actually prescribed the forms of these "Mass devotions" for individual use.<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the ritual reinforcement of the clergy's authority failed to stifle the religious autonomy of the believers. Piety could not be passive and remain meaningful. Hence religious practice moved into areas which, while encouraged by the official church, were more individualistic and less dependent upon clerical supervision than the Mass. Such practices included Eucharistic and Marian veneration and especially pilgrimages. In 1854 the Pope affirmed the-- long debated-- dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary; the contemporary international revival of pilgrimages received its strongest impulse in the Lourdes apparition in 1858. In 1856 the Pope proclaimed the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This veneration, also practiced earlier, similarly attained the proportions of an international movement. The practice of public processions also revived.<sup>3</sup>

The revival of traditional religious practices was an

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2. Anton L. Mayer, Die Liturgie in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), 367-9.

3. Mayer, 301, 360-2; Turner, 214-30; Roger Aubert, The Church in the Age of Liberalism (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 218-9; Friedrich Heyer, The Catholic Church from 1648 to 1870 (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1969), 177-83. The Heart of Jesus cult, which had strong legitimist political associations in France in the 1860s, was present also among the Szekler Catholics, especially toward the end of the century; Aubert, 224; László Székely, "A csíki székelyek aszkézise," Vigilia 42,3 (1977), 161, 166.

important component of ultramontaniam, a new phenomenon in  
the nineteenth-century church.<sup>4</sup> In the popular percep-  
tion, the term signified a rejection of liberalism and of  
state interference in church affairs, and a closer link of  
each diocese to the Vatican. It was symbolized before all  
by the Pope's Syllabus of Errors in 1864 and the proclama-  
tion of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council in 1871.  
The attacks on the secular power of the Papal States unques-  
tionably played a role in the increasingly fanatical condem-  
nation of liberal ideas and political movements by Pope Pius  
IX (1846-78) after 1849. He sympathized with the patriotic  
anti-Austrian tendencies of the early stages of the Italian  
revolution in 1848, but when the republican forces in Rome  
began to threaten his own position he moved his court to  
Gaeta in the Kingdom of Naples in November, 1848. By the  
time he returned to Rome eighteen months later, he had  
become a determined adversary of modern liberalism and of  
its ally, the Italian movement for national unification.  
The successes of this movement in succeeding years placed  
the Papal States on the political defensive and reinforced  
the Pope's defiance of modern political thought.<sup>5</sup>

It would be mistaken to suppose that Pius' experiences  
and embittered anti-liberalism were the chief cause and

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4. "The transformation of Catholicism by the ultramontane  
movement: that is the content of the history of the Catholic  
Church in the nineteenth century."-- Heyer, 151.

5. Aubert, 248-55; Lajos Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyaror-  
szág 1846-1878. A Bécsi apostoli nunciások jelentései és level-  
ezése Magyarországról (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1981), 25-41.

content of ultramontaniam. This movement actually emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century in Catholic countries, especially France, in reaction against ideas of the Enlightenment and Gallicanism on the civil utility of religion and the control of the episcopacy by the state. The call for emancipation from state control through a closer link with the Holy See could be justified in anti-Gallican but socially inclusive terms, as it was in the early works of Lamennais.<sup>6</sup> Lamennais' later works, which developed his original views beyond the limits of Papal tolerance, were popular among liberal Christians of Transylvania on the eve of 1848.<sup>7</sup> The rejection of Gallicanism also involved the resurrection of older devotional practices, such as those we have referred to, which Gallicanism had sought to suppress on utilitarian grounds.

Pius IX favored ultramontaniam, his chief biographer has written, because it seemed "the requisite for a rejuvenation of Catholic life."<sup>8</sup> Unlike his predecessor, Pius was a pastoral priest rather than a scholar. He took an active interest in the pastoral concerns of individual bishoprics. He restored the diocesan bishops' former prac-

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6. In his early phase, before he was condemned by Mirari Vos in 1832, Lamennais was "ultramontane and liberal at the same time."-- Heyer, 135-8; see also Aubert, 5.

7. Hitchens, The Rumanian National Movement, 160-1; Samu Benkő, "Beke Sámuel élete és halála," in Benkő, A helyzettudat változásai (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1977), 149-97.

8. Aubert, 85.



tice of visits ad limina, and through his renowned charm he was largely successful in cultivating their personal loyalty to himself. Cardinal Manning of England remarked: "No pontiff from the beginning, in all the previous succession of two hundred and fifty-six popes, has ever so united the bishops with himself."<sup>9</sup> During his pontificate Pius not only greatly increased his personal authority, that of the Apostolic Nunciatures and of the Papal Curia, but also improved the standards of clerical training and generally<sup>10</sup> intensified religious life.

The less positive side of Pius' pontificate is more generally recognized by historians. Long-term liberal trends within the church, both in the area of lay activism and in the opening toward modern and Protestant theology, were suppressed. Clerical primacy and the theological system of Thomas Aquinas were reaffirmed. Religious orders enjoyed increased influence, especially the Jesuits, whose

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9. Heyer, 185-6; Marvin O'Connell, "Ultramontaniam and Dupanloup: The Compromise of 1865," Church History 53,2 (1984), 200-17. According to O'Connell the ad limina visits typically took place every five years. These were in addition to the extraordinary synods which Pius convened: 206 bishops visited Rome on the occasion of the Marian definition in 1854, 265 for the commemoration of Japanese martyrs in 1862, and 500 for the 1800th anniversary of the martyrdom of St. Peter in 1867-- Heyer, 185. The Romanian Greek Catholic bishops did not make ad limina visits, and when Şuluţiu and Alexi received invitations to Rome in 1862, they declined them-- correspondence of de Luca, Şuluţiu and Alexi, March 21-April 9, 1862, in AS Alba Iulia, MRU,FG 1862/217, 409.

10. Aubert, 86-9; Otto Weiss, "Der Ultramontanismus. Grundlagen - Vorgeschichte - Struktur," Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte 41 (1978), 821-77 is insightful on the general problem of ultramontaniam, though it deals chiefly with southern Germany.

well-written newspaper Civiltà cattolica (1850-) became the official organ of Catholic conservatism.<sup>11</sup> The new piety turned against rationalistic emphases of the Enlightenment. Its chief traits were more frequent reception of the sacraments, veneration of Mary and the saints, visions, and pilgrimages.<sup>12</sup>

The papal offensive against liberal Catholicism reached a new stage in the early 1860s. The military successes of Garibaldi in 1860-1 accentuated the Vatican's defensive posture. Support for the secular power of the Pope was a criterion of international Catholic solidarity. In Hungary, for instance, the conservative priest and theologian of Transylvanian origin Tivadar Zerich published a work in defense of the Papal States which diocesan bishops recommended to their clergy. Bishop Haynald, like most bishops, issued a circular urging the faithful to pray for the welfare of the Papal States.<sup>13</sup> Bishop Dupanloup of Orleans, one of the most liberal members of the French episcopate, attained European prominence through his defense of the Pope's temporal power. The Munich church historian Ignaz von Döllinger, on the other hand, aroused the displeasure of

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11. Aubert, 283. J.C.H. Aveling, The Jesuits (New York: Stein and Day, 1982), 27, 316-18, notes the original liberal and conciliatory emphasis of the paper, which only became undeniably conservative by the mid-1860s.

12. Aubert, 218-28.

13. Zerich's work was A Pápai fejedelemség és birtok, 1860; Fülöp Jákó Imecs, Erdély puspokmegye Kronikája a XIX. században IV, 176 in Alba Iulia, Biblioteca Batthyaneum, ms. 719, cota IX-227. The printed circular of Haynald of February 22, 1860, in German, is in Budapest, OSzK, Fol.Lat. 3952, f. 195.

the Holy See by his sympathetic treatment of the assault on the Papal States in a lecture series he delivered in<sup>14</sup> 1861.

One of Dupanloup's colleagues in France issued a circular in 1860 condemning the "errors of liberalism." The letter helped to inspire the Holy See's first draft of the Syllabus of Errors in June, 1861, which it secretly presented to the bishops assembled at the extraordinary synod a year later. A group of bishops, including Dupanloup and probably Haynald, convinced the Pope to delay the publication of the document as politically inopportune. Dupanloup's ally, the layman Montalembert, created a sensation at the Catholic Congress in Malines in August, 1863 by his liberal address "Catholicism and Freedom." The address helped convince the Pope of the need for action.<sup>15</sup> Another stimulus was the liberal tendency in German theology, led by Dollinger. In September, 1863 the congress in Munich of German Catholic theologians of Germany, Austria and Switzerland openly challenged the conservative line favored by the Vatican. Pius strongly condemned the congress in a letter to the Archbishop of Munich on December 21.<sup>16</sup>

Dupanloup spent most of the winter of 1863-64 in Rome defending the liberal cause and seeking to delay the proposed Syllabus. He was ultimately unsuccessful: in

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14. Aubert, 244-5, 286.

15. The speech was published in several languages, including Hungarian: Szabad egyház szabad államban (Pest: Emich Gusztáv, 1864).

16. O'Connell, 208-9; Heyer, 162-3; Aubert, 245-6.

December, 1864 the Holy See issued the encyclical Quanta Cura condemning rationalism, statism, socialism and nationalism, with the more extreme and better-known Syllabus appended to it. The hostile reaction of the European liberal press was immediate. Dupanloup published a pamphlet in response to the liberal attacks a month later. Partly by minimizing the doctrinal significance of the Syllabus, partly by demonstrating the extremism and hypothetical nature of the theses being condemned, he had considerable success in blunting the damage to the Catholic image. This damage was so considerable that not only 630 bishops, but the Pope himself thanked Dupanloup for his<sup>17</sup> "clarification."

Ultramontanism, in the sense of a rejection of liberalism, reached its high point at this time and began its decline. The equally famous proclamation of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council five years later did<sup>18</sup> not challenge the secular order as did the Syllabus. Thanks to the public revelations concerning the Council by Dollinger and his lay ally, Lord Acton, and the demonstrative opposition of most bishops of Austria-Hungary and the United States, the strength within the hierarchy of the

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17. O'Connell, 209-17; Heyer, 164-5; Aubert, 297-9. Aubert attributes greater success to Dupanloup's pamphlet than Heyer, but the latter credits it for "salvaging a great deal for the Church." It is reasonable to suppose that Dupanloup also expressed his views on the Haynald affair (See Chapter VI) while in Rome.

18. This is the thesis of O'Connell, 200.

"liberal" element became known. The Council's formulation on infallibility was in fact a compromise solution. Infallibility was defined much more narrowly than the Pope himself had desired.<sup>20</sup>

The Pope's more extreme formulations and the tactical alliances of his opponents should not obscure the essential difference between Catholic liberalism and secular liberalism. Dupanloup and Montalembert, and the somewhat analogous pair of Haynald and Eotvos in Hungary, were far more moderate on social and constitutional questions than the liberals who genuinely threatened the position of the church.<sup>21</sup>

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Pius IX and the Eastern Rite

Another aspect of Ultramontanism involved very different ideological concerns, namely the quest to attract eastern-rite Christians to the Holy See. Sizable numbers of various nationalities practicing eastern rites were in union with Rome in the mid-nineteenth century, mostly in Europe but also in the Near East: primarily Ruthenians, Romanians, Armenians, and Arabs. Most Greek Catholic prelates were in the Near East, but the vast majority of the faithful were

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19. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Liberaler Katholizismus und die Minorität im Vatikanischen Konzil," Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs 8 (1955), 223-35.

20. Heyer, 192-4.

21. Aubert, 286, 298; "Toward the end, Pius IX, who almost daily condemned liberalism as the "error of the century," was no longer able to see the radical difference between Catholic liberalism and liberalism as such." (298)

Ruthenians and Romanians. The four Ruthenian and Romanian bishops attending the Vatican Council ruled dioceses of more than two million souls, while the others represented less than a half million Greek Catholics.<sup>22</sup> Most Greek Catholics were descendants of Orthodox believers whose bishops had accepted the church union.

Greek Catholic bishops, but especially minor clergy and the faithful generally resented the expansion of the narrow definition of church union by overzealous Roman Catholic missionaries and by Latin-rite clergymen of different nationality; such actions stimulated a countervailing movement of return to Orthodoxy. Pope Benedict XIV had participated as curial delegate in the Ruthenian council of Zamosc in 1720. Thirty years later he demonstrated his concern for the eastern rite in two encyclicals, one in 1755 and the other in 1756, instructing the clergy on the respect of the eastern rite and seeking to reassure Greek Catholics. The first of these, Allatae Sunt, concluded:

The Church does not require schismatics to abandon their rites when they return to Catholic unity, but only that they forswear and detest heresy. Its great desire is for the preservation, not the destruction, of different peoples-- in short, that all may be Catholic rather than all become Latin.(23

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22. Constantin G. Patelos, Vatican I et les évêques uniates. Une étape éclairante de la politique romaine à l'égard des orientaux (1867-1870) (Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1981), 376-77. Only half the eight Greek Catholic bishops of the monarchy were in attendance. There were 3.7 million Greek Catholics in the empire in 1846--Fényes, Az ausztriai birodalom statisztikája és földrajzi leírása, I, 46.

23. Allatae Sunt and the following encyclical, Ex Quo Primum, are in The Papal Encyclicals 1740-1878, 51-102.

Defenders of the eastern rite in the nineteenth century would appeal to these encyclicals against the perceived threat of "Latinization."

Roman interest in the East increased considerably in the nineteenth century. The first stimulus was the creation in 1815 of the Holy Alliance of a Catholic, Orthodox and a Lutheran monarch. The idea of European Christian unity attracted many thinkers in Russia and the rest of Europe, especially among the followers of a small group of Russian converts to Catholicism in Russia and the West. The response of the Holy See was a call for reunion with Rome, and not ecumenism in the modern sense. This was the essence of the encyclical In suprema Petri Apostoli Sede of 1848. It had very minor success, and its tone drew an indignant  
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response from the Orthodox patriarchs.

The attraction to Rome drew more impetus from the emergence of the diplomatic Eastern Question than from the rather restricted spiritual movement. The decline of the Ottoman Empire was accompanied by the increased activity of Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic missionaries in competition with each other. Under European pressure the Porte conceded increased autonomy to the Christians in its decrees of 1839 and 1856, which in turn gave more freedom to the missionaries. The most promising Catholic union movements in succeeding years were among the Bulgarians in the Balkans

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24. Patelos, 29-43.

and the Armenians of Asia Minor. Polish agents played on the old Bulgarian Orthodox resentment of Phanariot influence to spark the Bulgarian movement. After Pius IX consecrated the leader of the movement as Greek Catholic archbishop in April, 1861, the number of converts reached 60,000 in a short time. The new archbishop was lured aboard a Russian ship and abducted only two months later. Subsequently the number of Bulgarian Greek Catholics to dwindle. On the the other hand, the more steady growth among the Armenians led to the creation of six new bishoprics in 1850 and a rapid increase in the number of churches and schools.<sup>25</sup>

The Ottoman Hatti-Humayun (decree) of 1856 provided for increased lay involvement of in elections and the administration of church property. The striving of Greek Catholics to assert their autonomy in this way involved them in a conflict with the Holy See concerning questions of canon law. In the Habsburg Empire, the Concordat and direct Roman influence increased the sensitivity of the Greek Catholics to Latinizing tendencies. In response to these developments, Pius IX sent the Benedictine Cardinal Pitra to Russia in 1859-60 to make a systematic study of eastern canon law. A further encouraging sign for those demanding a complete respect for the eastern rite was the creation of a section within the Congregatio de propaganda fidei for the

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25. Patelos, 10-12, 25-8; Aubert, 167-8, 171; Ivan Sofranov, Histoire du Mouvement Bulgar vers l'Eglise Catholique au XIXe Siècle, I (Roma: Desclee & Cie., 1960), 71-138.



eastern rites in January, 1862. The encyclical declaring this action denounced accusations of Latinization, insisting that the diversity of rites "greatly enhances the dignity of the church itself." The declared purpose of the new commission was the furtherance of the church union and the "protection of the integrity" of the individual rites through the careful review of regular reports concerning their special problems to be submitted by the bishops. Each cardinal in the commission had expertise in a different oriental  
26  
rite.

The greater pluralism and tolerance apparently presaged by the establishment of the commission did not come about. Some contemporaries remarked that the personality and views of the prefect of the commission, Cardinal Barnabo, were partly to blame. But as in the dispute over liberalism, the pope's impatience with local innovations was decisive. As we will see, the Romanians of Transylvania were responsible for many of these innovations. The memorandum of the Armenian Patriarch Hassun at the end of 1866 provided the occasion for an overt change of policy. The bull Reversurus of July, 1867 formally concerned only the Armenians. But it made a blanket declaration that the deplorable schism in the East was the consequence of ignorance, decadence, and lax discipline which must be corrected

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26. Aubert, 157; Patelos, 90. The encyclical of April 8, 1862, Amantissimus, is in The Papal Encyclicals, 363-7. It does not appear that any of the Romanian bishops attended the subsequent meeting to which it expressly invited them.

by regeneration along the lines dictated by Rome. The policy of the oriental commission in the preparations and deliberation of the succeeding Vatican Council was in the same spirit.<sup>27</sup> Pius IX did not seek to alter liturgical rites, but he differed from many eastern prelates in his insistence that the integrity of rites did not also apply to discipline. Matters of church discipline-- organization, celibacy, relations with the Orthodox, fasting and calendars--remained controversial.

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### Catholicism and the Habsburg Monarchy

The internal situation of the Roman Catholic Church in the Habsburg Monarchy reflected most of the broader features already referred to, but also local historical traditions. To an even greater extent than elsewhere in Catholic Europe, the church in Austria and especially Hungary was closely tied to princely power already in the late Middle Ages.<sup>28</sup> This connection became a virtual identity of interests in the hereditary provinces and the Habsburg-controlled part of Hungary during the Reformation and Thirty Years' War. The Counterreformation allied with Habsburg absolutism, while the provincial noble estates which opposed the latter were generally Protestant. The Thirty Years' War provided the pretext for the forceful suppression of Protestant estate

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27. Patelos, 55-62, 91-3, 541-6.

28. Waltraud Heindl, "Die Wiener Nuntiatur und die Bischofsernennungen und Bischofsenthebungen in Ungarn 1848-1850," Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs 24 (1971), 400-2.

power in Austria and Bohemia. In those parts of the Hungarian lands beyond the reach of Habsburg armies, the Hungarian patriotic tradition ascribed a prime leadership role to the Reformed aristocracy. The Austro-Hungarian conflict of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries was fought among the indigenous population between labanc (pro-Habsburg and Catholic) and kuruc (anti-Habsburg and often Reformed) guerilla forces. Their antithesis established an important sociocultural tradition in Hungarian society.

The Habsburg liberation of Hungary and Transylvania from the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century bore many of the marks of a hostile occupation; the feudal constitution was violated by the new overlords in many details. But this occupation also facilitated the victory of a significant, soon irrevocably powerful Catholic resurgence. According to Central European tradition and contemporary practice, the coexistence of several churches in a society implied partisan conflict. This was especially true for Transylvania. Describing the situation there at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Friedrich Teutsch wrote:

The Hungarian noble party, which was contiguous with the Calvinist party, was dominant; for here, like elsewhere, the religions were also political parties.

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29. Teutsch, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen, II, 4. A striking example of this concept from the eighteenth century is in the pioneer work of the comparative history of religions, Geschichte der Religionsparteyen by Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten, in which "Religions-

The Catholic "party" was numerically weak in eastern Hungary and especially in Transylvania. It was strengthened by the settlement of Catholic peasants, craftsmen, civil servants and soldiers, by various church unions, and by administrative measures which expressly favored the Catholic Church and the recatholicization of Protestants.

The Habsburgs settled numerous Catholic peoples in Hungary in the eighteenth century, but relatively few in Transylvania proper. Many of the new settlers in Transylvania<sup>30</sup> were Orthodox Romanians. The church unions of the later seventeenth century (of the Ruthenians in 1649-89, the Armenians in 1684, and the Romanians in 1699-1701) at least temporarily decreased the number of Orthodox in Hungary and Transylvania by roughly one-half. In Transylvania, the Romanian church union increased several times the number of Catholic believers and their privileged clergy. The Austrian

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parteyen" are defined as "Gesellschaften, die sich uber den gottesdienstlichen Lehrbegriff widersprechen." The 1766 edition of the work (Halle: bey Johann Justinus Gebauer) is in the Sibiu library of the Romanian ASTRA.

30. Concerning the research on eighteenth-century population changes see the introductory study by György Litván in Oszkár Jászi, A nemzeti államok kialakulása és a nemzeti-ségi kérdés. Válogatás (Budapest: Gondolat, 1986), 25-7. The mass Catholic (Schwaben) settlement was chiefly in the Banat and Máramaros regions. Government-sponsored settlement in Transylvania totalled less than 10,000, and most of these were Protestants. Zsolt Trócsányi, rejecting the thesis that the Romanians were in the majority earlier, as well, has calculated there was an influx in the eighteenth century of roughly 350,000 Orthodox Romanians. Due to the migration of Hungarians westward, he concludes, the Romanian percentage of the population increased from one third to three fifths between 1712 and 1760. Trócsányi, "Új etnikai kép, új uralmi rendszer (1711-1770)," in Erdély története II (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1986), 975-81.

authorities facilitated the Catholic expropriation of many Protestant church buildings and schools. The dimensions of recatholicization, more than those of the church union, are difficult to estimate. A significant minority of Protestant noblemen converted, enjoying political benefits thereby, and the Protestant serfs on their estates more or less automatically converted with them.

The political motive was prominent in all of the church unions of East Central Europe in the sixteenth through  
31  
eighteenth centuries. The greater or lesser degree of military coercion involved in the acts of union does not alter the fact that they arose essentially from the cultural reorientation of small nations' ruling clergy under the press of changing geopolitics. The rising power of Catholic Poland and Austria presented these clergies with the opportunity to exchange the domination of local Orthodox or Reformed aristocracies for that of a more distant hierarchy and state that promised social advantages. In the Ruthenian and Romanian unions, Hungarian princes and estates resisting Habsburg domination openly favored the Orthodox defense of tradition and were supported by the churchmen of the Danubian Principalities for this reason. They resented the union as a scheme by the Habsburgs to withdraw their Romanian serfs from religious and political subjection. The

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31. For a good survey of the church unions, marred by some errors of detail, see Helmut Rumpler, "Politik und Kirchenunion in der Habsburgermonarchie," Österreichische Osthefte 6 (1964), 302-20.

church union virtually dissolved in the course of the anti-Habsburg Rákóczi rebellion in 1703-11, when Rákóczi sponsored the election of a new Romanian Orthodox Archbishop.<sup>32</sup>

The clergy united with Rome because it was promised release from serfdom and enjoyment of the same privileges as the Roman Catholic clergy. Active Austrian support was needed for the survival of the union because of the considerable influence of Russian-supported Serbian Orthodox agitators among the commoners. The church union vastly increased Romanian opportunities for higher education, with decisive results for the development of a national ideology and western-educated intelligentsia.<sup>33</sup> It is tempting to censure the Ruthenian and Romanian clergy who concluded the unions because they placed their own social advancement above the popular adherence to Orthodoxy. Yet one should recall that religious and social elites everywhere pursued their interests with little regard for the popular will.<sup>34</sup>

The Catholic nobility of Transylvania, settlers, indigenous and newly converted, enjoyed the energetic support of the court. By mid-century it had secured most of the

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32. Paul Cernovodeanu, "A román fejedelemségek és a magyar szabadságharc," in Kálmán Benda, ed., Európa és a Rákóczi Szabadságharc (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1980), 65-70, and other articles in the same volume.

33. See Makkai, 130-55; Emanuel Turczynski Konfession und Nation. Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationsbildung (Düsseldorf: Pädagogischer Verlag Schwann, 1976), 116-34.

34. Octavian Bârlea presents a well-documented argument that the Romanian church union was the consequence of a genuine religious conversion; Bârlea, appendix to Wilhelm de Vries et al., Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber, 1963), 223-35.

governorships and a majority in the Gubernium. The personnel of the court Chancellery became exclusively Catholic and Catholic representation in the diet also greatly increased.<sup>35</sup> The former laws against Catholics were abolished.

In 1713 the Roman Catholic diocese received its first resident bishop after nearly two centuries, when there were only 30,000 Roman Catholics in Transylvania, or one-tenth<sup>36</sup> the number of Greek Catholics. The revival of religious orders and Catholic secondary education in succeeding years helped to dramatically change the religious makeup of Transylvania.

The Catholic revival came at the price of unprecedented state interference in church affairs. An organ of the Gubernium, the Catholica Commissio, supervised conversions, the foundation of parishes, and the schools in general, from<sup>37</sup> 1767 on. State interference in Catholic affairs, was a general feature of Habsburg rule in the century following the ascension of Maria Theresa in 1740. The policy was accentuated under her son, Joseph II, after whom it has been called Josephinism. Roman Catholicism remained the dominant church, but imperial regulations "rationalized" liturgical practices, dissolved many monasteries, centralized seminary education, and restricted bishops' contact with the Holy

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35. Trócsányi, op. cit., 1006-8.

36. Bârlea, Ostkirchliche Tradition und westlicher Katholizismus. Die rumänische Kirche zwischen 1713-1727 (Monachii: [sn], 1966) (=Societas Academica Dacoromana, Acta Historica, vol. 6), 13, citing a document in the Vatican Archives from 1714.

37. Trócsányi, op. cit., 1087-8.

See. The placetum regium, right of the Habsburg ruler to prevent the publication by diocesan bishops of papal edicts, was more strictly enforced than previously, and the visitation of bishoprics by the Papal Nuncio forbidden. The ideology of Josephinism bore much in common with that of Gallicanism. Its ideal cleric was the pastor bonus, who was simultaneously guardian of public morality, educator in such matters as health and animal husbandry, and servant of the state. A decree of the Hungarian State Chancellery in 1792 referred to the priest as "a state official within the church."<sup>38</sup> The ideal, by encouraging a more secular and individualist clergy, made it more susceptible to liberalism.<sup>39</sup>

The Pope fought against state interference and the rationalist and utilitarian tenets of Josephinism just as he had fought against those of Gallicanism. Often the Holy See and the Habsburg authorities failed to agree on the appointments to vacant bishoprics. The continued vacancy of sees was actually advantageous to state finances: in such cases the financial authorities could and legally did claim the income from the respective diocese. In 1800 seven bishoprics in Hungary, representing half the Roman Catholics in the country, were vacant. The Primacy of Esztergom was

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38. Cited by Imre Révész in Fejezetek a Bach-korszak egyházpolitikájából (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1957), 11.

39. John W. Boyer, Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian Social Movement 1848-1897 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 123-6.



itself vacant for fifty-two years.

Josephinian church policy aroused a challenge in the form of an ideologically allied movement, Febronianism. The theology of the eighteenth-century Febronius (Nikolaus Johann von Hontheim) derived the right of diocesan administration from the Catholic monarch rather than the Pope. Expanding the church's doctrine of canonica disciplina, Febronius also placed a strong emphasis on the regular convocation of diocesan synods to monitor and improve the spiritual and material condition of the clergy. He even argued for the participation of the laity in the synods. Such synods could further the Josephinian ideal of the pastor bonus, but could also facilitate clerical solidarity in the face of the state.

A handful of Hungarian bishops in the early nineteenth century were Josephinians, subservient to the state but advocates of increased synodal activity. Sándor Rudnay, Bishop of Transylvania 1816-19 and Primate 1819-31, justified the long-delayed convocation of diocesan synods throughout the Hungarian lands in 1822 in Febronian terms. His successor in Transylvania, Ignác Szepessy (1820-28), was the most strongly Josephinian Hungarian bishop. In 1822 he promulgated a code of diocesan canon law on the eve of the convocation of the Transylvanian synod. It prescribed parliamentary procedure for the synod with majority voting, and

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40. Egyed Hermann, A katolikus egyház története Magyarországon 1914-ig (München: Auróra, 1973), 378; Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 44-5, 56-7.

entitled the canons and deans to hold the bishop responsible for statutory violations. Both provisions were departures from previous practice. Szepessy used his synod, and his appearance at the subsequent national synod, to restate his principles. The Habsburg court approved of his ideas, but denounced the unauthorized publication of his law code. The Holy See strongly disapproved of the synod's decrees, and<sup>41</sup> forced Szepessy to invalidate them. The diocesan and national synods also revealed considerable dissatisfaction with the level of material support enjoyed by the clergy and proposed specific remedies. The Transylvanian synod voted significant reforms. The civil authorities simply ignored these acts, however, and allowed no further synods until<sup>42</sup> 1848.

The decade of the national synod was also that of a modest ecumenical movement in Hungary, led among the Catholics by the theologian and Benedictine monk Izidor Guzmics. The movement had a nationalist element: in the national revival, many politicians and writers denounced confessional disunity as shameful and even dangerous in a<sup>43</sup> time of national struggle. Liberal theological tenden-

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41. Antal Meszlényi, A magyar hercegprímások arcképsorozata (1707-1945) (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1970), 188-95.

42. Hermann, 401-5; Bertalan Bagossy, "A jozefinizmus hatása s az erdélyi egyházmegyék küzdelme ezek ellenére (1790-1847)," in Az erdélyi katolicizmus múltja és jelene (Dicsőszentmárton: Erzsébet Könyvnyomda Részvénytársaság, 1925), 184-5.

43. Hermann, 416; Kelemen Király, A Katolikus-protestáns egységtörekvés története Magyarországon (Brunswick, NJ: Standard Press, 1965), 29-66.

cies among the Protestants were a strong potential stimulus for Hungarian Catholics, especially in Transylvania. Most of the liberal leaders there were Protestants, and the Reformed Church itself served briefly as a rallying point  
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for the liberal opposition.

Hungarian Reformed and Romanian Orthodox politics allied intermittently, for the last time, in the years before 1848. In the Transylvanian diet and counties the Hungarian opposition spoke out against the ongoing wave of Catholicization among the Romanian Orthodox. The Habsburg royal commissioner wrote to Vienna that the elevation of the Orthodox to "received" status would deprive the opposition  
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of a fertile pretext for agitation. The growth of Romanian nationalism led to the willingness of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox bishops to cooperate in pursuit of national goals. Their petitions of 1791 (Supplex Libellus Valachorum) and 1834 that the Romanians be recognized as fourth constitutional nation failed due to overwhelming Hungarian opposition. They then sought to exploit Hungarian sympathy for the Orthodox to at least assuage some of this group's grievances. In 1837-8, and then again in 1842-3, they submitted petitions to the diet on behalf of the religious and political emancipation of the Orthodox in the

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44. Ambrus Miskolczy, "Erdély a reformkorban (1830-1848)," in Erdély története, III, 1272-5.

45. Miskolczy, "Társadalom, nemzetiség és ellenzéki-  
ség kérdései az erdélyi magyar reformmozgalomban (1830-1843)," Századok 117 (1983), 1067; Ibid., "Erdély a reformkorban," 1272, 1309.

Fundus Regius. These, too, were unsuccessful, as the Hungarian opposition chose, for a change, to side with the conservative Saxon establishment. They united in the face of the long-term threat of Romanian emancipation.<sup>46</sup>

Josephinian views among the Austrian and Hungarian clergy, though declining by the mid-nineteenth century, created a latent susceptibility to liberalism.<sup>47</sup> In 1848, the episcopate sought its liberation from Josephinian state supervision. Under the newly established free press and parliaments, the political influence of the churches decreased considerably. The laity was less likely to look to the bishops and synods for the representation of their interests. The liberals' demand for freedom of religion and the reduction of Catholic influence on education and marriages put the clergy on the defensive. Liberal anticlericalism during the revolution was strongest in Vienna, where the Archbishop's residence was the target of protest demonstrations by his opponents.<sup>48</sup> Such attacks were rare in Hungary and Transylvania, but the abolition of various Catholic Church privileges prompted countermeasures by the lower clergy and episcopate.

The revival of the synodal movement in 1848, and its occasional sanction by the episcopate, must be seen in the

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46. Ladislau Gyémánt, Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania 1790-1848 (București: Editura științifică și enciclopedică, 1986), 129-46.

47. Peter Leisching, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in Cisleithanien," in Die Habsburger Monarchie 1848-1918, IV Die Konfessionen, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 90-2.

48. R. John Rath, The Viennese Revolution of 1848 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 166-72, 232-4.

light of this defensive posture. A minority of the clergy in Vienna followed the liberal theology of Anton Günther which grew out of the Josephinian tradition of synodalism and increasing the rights of the lower clergy. But most priests sought only "to defend themselves against street corner anticlericalism and to enhance their pastoral effectiveness in the chaos of the revolution." Even so, Archbishop Milde flatly rejected the reforms they pro-<sup>49</sup>posed.

The threat to the church in the Hungarian lands was of a more coherent, material nature, and consequently a greater degree of agreement existed between the episcopate and the lower clergy concerning the response. Unlike in Austria, there was a large Protestant population, which sought to achieve civil rights and material support equal to those enjoyed by the Roman Catholics. The Protestants hoped for support from the state-managed Religionsfonds, which the<sup>50</sup> Catholic bishops claimed was theirs alone. Several bishops sought the support of the laity as well as the lower clergy in their struggle by granting them a considerable voice in the synods they convened. Some of the clergy, for instance in the diocese of Vác, made such radical demands as

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49. Boyer, 132-3, from which this quotation is taken; on Günther's movement, see Thomas W. Simons, Jr., "Vienna's First Catholic Political Movement: The Güntherians, 1848-1857," Catholic Historical Review 40 (1969-70), 173-94, 377-93, 610-26.

50. The fund had been created by Joseph II for the support of the Roman Catholic clergy from the property of the monasteries he had dissolved.

the translation of the liturgy into Hungarian and the aboli-  
tion of priestly celibacy.<sup>51</sup> The situation was similar in  
Transylvania, except that there the Romanian demand at the  
assembly in Blaj in May, 1848 for annual national synods was  
an added impulse for the Roman Catholics to make similar  
demands.<sup>52</sup>

The proposed reforms took the name in Hungary of  
Catholic Autonomy. The goal of the Hungarian Catholic  
Autonomy movement has been defined as "the attainment of  
self-administration for the Hungarian Catholic Church simi-  
lar to that enjoyed by the Protestant denominations on the  
basis of the principle of religious equality declared by Law  
XX of 1848."<sup>53</sup> Historians of the movement date its origin  
to the March 20, 1848 conference of the the Hungarian epis-  
copate. As the participant Bishop Mihaly Fogarasy recorded,  
the diet's legislation for an independent Hungarian govern-  
ment and religious equality created a radically new situa-  
tion for the church. "They understood the warning of pol-  
itical developments: that henceforth, faced with a freer  
constitution, the church must take a more independent posi-  
tion vis a vis the state." The church itself should take  
over the patronage rights enjoyed previously by the Catholic

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51. Moritz Csáky, "Die römisch-katholische Kirche in  
Ungarn," in Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918 IV, Die  
Konfessionen, 253-62.

52. Károly Rass, "Az 1848-iki átalakulás," Az erdélyi  
katholicizmus múltja és jelene, 219-20.

53. Jenő Török, A katolikus autonómia-mozgalom 1848-  
1871. Adalékok a magyar liberális-katolicizmus történetéhez  
(Budapest: Stephaneum, 1941), 11.

monarch: "It is impossible that we would desire that the ministerial government enjoy the same power over the Catholic Church... therefore the Catholic Church wishes to exercise the same rights conceded elsewhere by the freer constitutional institutions." Later he added that the church "is deprived of princely protection... and must<sup>54</sup> resort to the protection of its own faithful."

The April Laws caught the Catholics unprepared, while the liberal government for its part was suspicious of Roman influence on the church and proposed to eliminate state subsidies. Many attributed the slow Catholic response to inadequate popular interest and proposed more frequent diocesan synods as one remedy. In May Father Janos Danielik used Religió to propagate the organization of a national "Catholic Institute", on the model of the English body of the same name. The Institute would be a network of deanery, diocesan and national councils with functions analogous to those of the Protestant synods. Several diocesan synods took up the same idea, but made little progress before the radicalization of the revolution and the deterioration of relations with the hierarchy and the Holy See undermined the possibility of Vatican approval. The revolution did establish the range of conceptions later associated with Catholic Autonomy: a means for the hierarchy to maintain the legal control of its property, in religious terms an antidote to

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54. [Fogarasy], Emlékirat az 1847/8. országgyűlés alatt Pozsonyban tartott püspöki tanácskozmányokról. Egy résztvevőtől (Pest: 1848), 33, 65 cited by Török, 18, 35.

popular indifference and passivity, or finally the means toward general democratization and the supercession of such "archaic" institutions as priestly celibacy, monastic orders<sup>55</sup> and the Latin Mass.

The revolutionary government in Hungary named politically congenial bishops to four vacant sees in 1848. Due to their political behavior during the revolution, these four and several others were removed from their sees after the defeat of the Revolution. The Holy See did not oppose the dismissal of those appointed in 1848, whose confirmation it had withheld, but insisted on the "voluntary" abdication<sup>56</sup> of four who had already been consecrated.

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#### The Concordat and Hungary

The previous chapter noted the dim view contemporaries took of the state of religiosity in Hungary. Due to his prominence in politics and culture it is of special interest that József Eötvös shared this view with respect to the Catholic Church. He charged the clergy in particular with apathy and indifference, and claimed the quality of Catholic schools was possibly the worst in Europe. In sum,

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55. Török, 31-48. It is true, as Lukacs points out, that the bishops' initial support for synodalist claims was only a tactical move. This does not justify the author's doctrinaire assertion that synodality was therefore retrograde. It clearly represented an outgrowth of the liberal tendency in Hungarian society. See Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 57-9.

56. Heindl, 404-32. These abdications established the procedure to be followed with Haynald in 1863. Alexander Bach strongly advocated the procedure in 1849-50 as a compromise solution.



Our church conditions are extrordinarly sad, and a Catholic spirit is hardly observable at any other time, than in opposition to other denominations... In moments of great agitation there is nothing more dangerous than religious indifference, and I believe there is hardly another country in Europe where this property is so universal among the Catholics as here. (57

Eötvös wrote to Montalembert at the conclusion of the Austro-Prussian War in 1866 that the only way to overcome the religious apathy of the Hungarian Catholics was to establish for them the same self-administration and lay participation already enjoyed by the Protestants.<sup>58</sup> He emphasized the importance of this concept in his later letters to Montalembert and to the Hungarian bishops. His conception considerably predated this period. As Jenő Török has shown, he had laid down his ideas already in his masterpiece of political philosophy first published in 1851-4, The Influence of the Ruling Ideas of the Nineteenth Century upon the State.<sup>59</sup>

The "ruling ideas" of Eötvös' treatise were liberty, equality and nationality. Since all three were characteristics of individuals, the chief task of the state was the guarantee of the liberty of the individual, and by means of the establishment of local autonomy. Religious autonomy superceded all other autonomies in importance, since it was at the most basic level of the individual's conscience.

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57. Eötvös to Montalembert, September 4, 1867, in Eötvös, Levelek ([Budapest]: Magyar Helikon, 1976), 505.

58. Eötvös to Montalembert, July 27, 1866, in *ibid.*, 467.

59. Hungarian title: A XIX. század uralkodó eszméinek befolyása az állodalomra.

Eotvos believed, like the French liberal Catholics, that the ethics of Christianity made it the "religion of freedom," which should possess the means to protect the state and society from revolution, despotism, excessive nationalism and anarchy. Hence the strengthening of religious feeling was in the general interest. This was even more evident with Catholicism in the Habsburg monarchy, since beyond its ethical value it was the religion of most Slavs and a counterweight to the perceived threat of Russian Pan-Slavism. Eötvös recommended Autonomy in the double sense (self-administration and lay participation) to overcome what he argued was the poor state of Hungarian Catholicism.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the ambivalent behavior of numerous bishops and clergy during the Revolution, the postrevolutionary Austrian regime viewed the Catholic Church as an important base of support. Catholic Hungarian aristocrats at the court sought to encourage this view, arguing that "Hungarian Protestantism is more dangerous to the unitary Austrian Monarchy than Magyarism."<sup>61</sup> In the new situation the court sought the sincere and active support of the Roman Catholic bishops,

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60. This summary of Eotvos' relevant ideas closely follows Jenő Török, 54-66; for his critique of nationalism, see Paul Bódy, Joseph Eötvös and the Modernization of Hungary, 1840-1870. A Study of Ideas of Individuality and Social Pluralism in Modern Politics (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 66-74. Unlike most Hungarians, Eotvos believed the national minorities' churches should be strengthened, and hence he defended Romanian Orthodox church autonomy as an extension of his general conception of autonomy; see Bódy, 118.

61. From the memorandum of Count György Apponyi of January, 1849, cited by Friedrich Walter, "Die Beteiligung der magyarischen Protestanten an der Revolution 1848/49," 272.

hence it rapidly granted their request for conferences at which they could discuss their problems and formulate policy proposals. The Cisleithanian bishops convened in Vienna at the end of April, 1849 and the Hungarian bishops under the leadership of the newly named Primate of Esztergom, János Scitovszky, in August, 1850. The two conferences agreed on their basic demands, which clearly aimed at the weakening of Josephinian church policy.<sup>62</sup>

Imperial legislation favorable to the church soon followed. The placetum was abolished and theological instruction returned to direct supervision by the bishops already in 1850, and two years later the law on Religionsstörung reinforced the civil authority of the lower clergy.<sup>63</sup> Vienna still expected clergymen to inculcate loyalty to civil authority, but entrusted resolution of complaints in this regard to commissions composed of equal numbers of diocesan and Habsburg officials.<sup>64</sup>

Negotiations began on a comprehensive treaty between Austria and the Vatican, the Concordat. It was finally

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62. Révész, 14-15; Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 90-1; Gabriel Adriányi, Die Stellung der ungarischen Kirche zum österreichischen Konkordat von 1855 (Roma: [s.n.], 1963), 57-68.

63. Révész, 15-16; Leisching, 47. Ten years later the Transylvanian Hungarian opponents of Schmerling's policy, who generally rejected all "absolutist" legislation, used this law to prosecute the Romanian nationalist Axente Sever when he became embroiled in a dispute with a Magyarophile priest. See Chapter VIII.

64. Circular of the Governor of Transylvania, September 15, 1851, in AS Alba Iulia, Protopopiatul G.C. Alba Iulia. Pachet 8, Acte oficiale. 1851/8. This procedure no longer obtained in the 1860s.

concluded in 1855. From the beginning the Concordat was controversial from the beginning. It became the bete noir of the Austrian liberals, undermining the support they might have extended the regime for its pragmatic economic and administrative reforms. In the words of Robert A. Kann, the Concordat embodied "the true [i.e. repressive] spirit of the regime." He emphasized the unprecedented degree of church supervision over education and the jurisdiction of Catholic ecclesiastical courts in matrimonial matters. Liberals and Protestants denounced the Concordat as the oppressive alliance of an intolerant, ultramontane church with the absolutist state.<sup>65</sup> The encyclical Singulari Quidem

addressed to the bishops of the empire after the the Concordat was openly exclusivist and conservative. To fight the evil of religious indifference, bishops should

Saturate [the faithful] with the doctrine of Catholic truth more accurately each day... there can be no greater crime...than to divide the Church..., than to forget evangelical love and to combat with the furor of hostile discord the harmony of the people of God.

The encyclical denounced rationalism, and insisted that progress in the church consists solely of "the progress of faith, which is not change."<sup>66</sup>

The negative view of the Concordat is accurate if one considers only school and matrimonial matters, although even

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65. Robert A. Kann, A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526-1918 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 321-2. His appraisal of the Concordat is exclusively negative.

66. Singulari Quidem, March 17, 1856, in The Papal Encyclicals, 339-45.

here the polemicists exaggerated matters and failed to note the non-application of the Concordat in many respects. In other respects the Concordat was complementary to the economic policy of the period and fulfilled a popular Catholic demand in 1848, the emancipation of the church. The church regained the freedom to administer its internal affairs which it had lost under Josephinism, and later liberal regimes never abridged this freedom.<sup>67</sup> Prominent in this freedom was episcopal visitation of parishes and the holding of diocesan synods. Singulari Quidem strongly endorsed the holding of synods.<sup>68</sup>

The imperial government conceded a lessening of its power over the church, but also hoped to strengthen the centralization of the empire with the help of the church. As the chief Austrian negotiator with the Vatican, the new Archbishop of Vienna, Joseph Othmar von Rauscher, stated: imperial unity requires unity within the church between Austria and Hungary, and "only the Holy See has the right and the authority to completely unite the Hungarian church with the Austrian church." Minister of the Interior Alexander Bach remarked, similarly, that it was hoped the Concordat would resolve the Italian and Hungarian questions by helping to overcome political and national prejudices. Austria conceded more to the church in the Concordat than it had originally intended, but considered this worthwhile in order

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67. My interpretation here follows that of Boyer, 20-1.

68. These recommendations included the cautionary phrase "in conformity with the canonical prescriptions." The Papal Encyclicals, 342, 344.

to further the ecclesiastical integration of Hungary.

These intentions became known to the Hungarian episcopate in 1850, when it began to register its insistence on the previously existing regulations applying to the church in Hungary. Scitovszky traveled to Rome in October, 1854 and sought to limit the application of the prospective Concordat in Hungary. He argued that in Hungary, unlike in Austria, formal canonic procedures for marriages were still in full force, the bishops already had complete supervision over Catholic schools, and the testamentary rights of the bishops were not restricted as in Austria: hence the Concordat was unnecessary there. The views of Vienna prevailed, and Scitovszky's appeal was rejected. In a secret article appended to the Concordat, moreover, the state reserved for itself the right to punish bishops and clergymen guilty of crimes against the state, and suspended the considerable immunity (privilegium fori) the clergy had<sup>70</sup> enjoyed in Hungary.

As with the later Protestant Patent and the administrative reforms of the 1860s, the state conceded more rights in Cisleithania than it had prior to 1848, but offered little improvement over the pre-1848 status in Hungary. The uniform application of the Concordat in Hungary meant a

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69. Leisching, 27-30; Rauscher is cited in Revesz, 15, and Bach in Adriányi, Die Stellung der ungarischen Kirche, 30.

70. Adriányi, Die Stellung der ungarischen Kirche, 88-108; Cölestin Wolfsgriber, Joseph Othmar Cardinal Rauscher, Fürsterzbischof von Wien. Sein Leben und sein Wirken (Wien: B. Herder, 1888), 157.

restriction of many rights claimed by the episcopate.

The Hungarian episcopate publicly welcomed the Concordat after it was enacted, as in the given situation it undeniably improved the position of the church vis à vis the

72

state. In succeeding years the bishops enjoyed greater influence over church endowments, and the Concordat facilitated the convocation of provincial (for an archdiocese and its suffragans) synods in Esztergom in 1858 and Kalocsa in 1863 and diocesan synods in 1860 and 1863; their decisions

73

were actually put into effect. The improvements still fell short of the bishops' desires.

The chief grievance of the Hungarian episcopate and of Catholic opinion against Austrian church policy and the Concordat concerned the prerogatives of the Primate. The Prince-Primate of Esztergom had been the second civil official of old-regime Hungary after the Palatine. As the head of the church, he presided over the national synod in 1822. The chief embodiment of his jurisdiction was his presidency

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71. Adriányi argues the Concordat granted the Hungarian episcopate less rights than it had enjoyed previously. Yet by his own calculation, twenty-one articles of the Concordat represented no change, six articles increased the canonical freedom of the bishops, and five decreased it.-- Die Stellung der ungarischen Kirche, 119-21.

72. Ibid., 123, 130.

73. The synods, which enjoyed a higher canonical status than the less formal conferences in which the Hungarian bishops participated in Esztergom in 1850 and Vienna in 1856, passed religious regulations for the respective dioceses. Konrád Szántó, A katolikus egyház története, II (Budapest: Ecclesia, 1985), 407; János Karácsonyi, Magyarország egyháztörténete főbb vonásaiban 970-től 1900-ig (Veszprém: Egyházmegyei könyvnyomda, 1929), 268. (facsimile ed.: Budapest: Könyvertékesítő Vállalat, 1985).

of the highest ecclesiastical court of appeals in Hungary. The Primate actually exercised this judicial privilege in 1846, when the condemnation by his court of the radical professors at the Romanian school in Blaj led to their  
<sup>75</sup>  
dismissal.

Nationality and confessional politics complemented each other in the policy toward the Primacy in the 1850s. Just as the Concordat served the antiliberal ideology of the ultramontane movement, hierarchical changes reflected the new activism with respect to the eastern rite. The Serbian and Romanian Orthodox bishops had proven effective champions of their respective nations' cause in 1848-9. Calling attention to the increased influence of Orthodoxy in Transylvania due to Şaguna, the Hungarian bishops' conference of 1850 recommended the elevation of the Romanian see in Blaj to the rank of archbishopric or metropolitanate. The Croatian see of Zagreb was raised to an archbishopric in 1852 with three suffragan bishops in Croatia and Slavonia, withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Kalocsa and subordinated directly to the Holy See. A year later, the Romanian see at Blaj was similarly separated from its subordination to the Primate, and two new Greek Catholic dioceses created. The will of the Holy See was evident, and Scitovszky voluntarily abdicated from his metropolitan  
<sup>76</sup>  
rights over the Blaj see. The recognition by the papal

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74. Adriányi, op. cit., 113.

75. Footnote in GBCS, III, 85.

76. Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 91, 96-7; DSSS,



bulls of hierarchical separation on ethnic lines was unprecedented in Catholicism, and disturbing to Hungarians.<sup>77</sup>

The direct subordination of the new Metropolitan of Blaj, Sulutiu, and his three suffragans to the Congregatio de Propaganda fidei meant that the new Vatican eastern policy would have a more direct impact on Romanian affairs. Singulari Quidem reemphasized Rome's respect for the eastern rite and called for regular reports by Greek Catholic bishops to the congregation.<sup>78</sup> The Pope hoped to bring about a special Concordat for the Greek Catholics of the monarchy and to send Cardinal Pitra to Blaj in 1858 as a first step toward this goal. Neither plan was realized, but the Nuncio took an active role in the delicate relations of Sulutiu,<sup>79</sup> Haynald and the authorities.

Archbishop Rauscher considered the Primacy a mere tradition, without canonical status. As he wrote in a memorandum in 1857: there is no indication of a subordination to Esztergom in the papal bulls establishing the Archbishoprics

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61-72. After 1867 Hungarian and Romanian Catholics disagreed as to whether Scitovszky had also renounced his rights vis a vis Blaj as Primate, i.e. in public law; Elemér Gyárfás, "A román görög katolikusok autonómiaja," Katholikus Szemle, 19 (1905), 350-65.

77. The Holy See sought to console Scitovszky by naming him in 1852 apostolic visitor (inspector) for the monasteries of the provinces of Esztergom, Eger and Kalocsa for the period of three years, and elevating him to the dignity of Cardinal two years later.-- Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarországnak, 97; János Török, Magyarország prímása, I, 260-1. The apostolic visitorship reinforced Scitovszky's claim to the Primacy, but his visits to the province of Kalocsa prompted strong protests of interference by József Kunszt, the Archbishop of Kalocsa.

78. The Papal Encyclicals, 344-5.

79. DSSS, 137-8; see Chapter VIII.

of Kalocsa, Eger, Zagreb and Blaj.

The foundation of a Primatial authority, as the Archbishop of Esztergom demands, would establish a Hungarian national church: something the Holy See can desire no more than the foundation of a German Patriarchate, which has also been demanded. (80

The Hungarian demand, he asserted, was basically political in nature. Only the newly achieved close union with Austria preserved Catholicism in Hungary from the persecution and plunder of revolution. Hungarian claims to exclusivity, unrestrained,<sup>81</sup> were bound to provoke serious disorders.

The view of the Holy See was nearly the same. The Nuncio informed Scitovszky that the Concordat was the best alternative available to the church in Hungary. The Vatican accepted the juridical subordination to the Primate only of Eger, of the four archbishoprics. Due to the importance that Hungarian patriots attached to the Primatial dignity, however, it decided to forego any statement on the question in order to protect the prestige of the church in Hungary.<sup>82</sup>

The office of Hungarian Primate was not mentioned in

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80. On the initiatives for a German Primacy in 1806 and 1848, see Heyer, 114, and Aubert, 75.

81. "Gran's Ansprüche auf eine Primatialgewalt über Ungarn und dessen vormalige Nebenländer," ms. in Vienna, Erzdiözesanarchiv. Bishopsakten Rauscher; see also Wolfgruber, 147-8.

82. Adriányi, op. cit., 112-13; Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 107-8. Archbishop Kunszt denied his see had ever been dependent on Esztergom (Lukács, 108); one of his priests published a pamphlet in 1866 denying the Primate's claims, but making no reference to the Archbishop of Vienna or the Concordat: József Kováts, A primási joghatóság és a kalocsai érseki szék. Ellenészrevételek Dr. Frankl [Fraknoi] Vilmos urnak "Adalékok" stb. cz. értekezésére (Pest: Első magy. egyesületi könyvnyomda Fonda és Tarsai, 1866.)

the text of the Concordat. Yet in 1856 the imperial government denied Scitovszky the right to hold a national synod, and shortly thereafter abolished the Primatial appeals court as well.<sup>83</sup> Rauscher did not raise a formal claim to the leadership of the episcopate in the entire empire, but his undeniable influence at Court and with the Vatican gave him de facto primacy among the bishops. Bishop Haynald informally recognized his primacy when he requested Rauscher's view on the application of two diocesan regulations in the light of the Concordat. Rauscher took advantage of the opportunity to reply to Haynald in a long letter<sup>84</sup> of February, 1857 which he also published.

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#### Hungarian Churchmen in the National Revival

Rauscher's assessment of Scitovszky's goal of a "national church" was essentially accurate. Allied with Hungary's Old Conservatives, he aspired to a sort of national political leadership, to which the historic rights of the Primacy gave him a reasonable claim. In 1850 his name stood at the head of 131 signatories to a national petition to the Emperor, in 1857 he handed a similar petition to Franz Joseph, and his leadership of the pilgrimage

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83. Adriányi, op. cit., 118-19.

84. Haynald to Rauscher, in German, February 6, 1856 and printed reply by Rauscher, in Latin, February 21, 1857, in Vienna, Erzdiözesanarchiv. Bischofsakten Rauscher. The regulations in question were among those passed by the controversial diocesan synod of 1822. Janka Wohl asserts, in a generally reliable article, that Haynald had earlier spoken out against the Concordat.-- "Kardinal Haynald," Deutsche Revue, eine Monatschrift 17,1 (1892), 66.

to Mariazell in September, 1857 must be seen in the same  
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light.

I have earlier discussed the role of Scitovszky in the constitutional restoration. Two other Hungarian priests who were prominent in this context were Archbishop Béla Bartakovics of Eger and Canon János Danielik of Eger.

Bartakovics was an energetic and strongly patriotic pre-  
86

late. In 1856 he repulsed attempts by the authorities to interfere in the administration of schools in his arch-  
87

diocese. In 1859-60 he was prominent, like Scitovszky, in the Conservatives' patriotic manifestations, and was strongly criticized by the Nuncio for his public statements. At the fiftieth anniversary celebration of Scitovszky's ordination in November, 1859, Bartakovics declared that the absolutist regime in Hungary was illegal. Austrian displeasure was so strong that the Nuncio feared Bartakovics would be forced to resign from his see, and used his influence to prevent any speech by him at the festive

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85. Adriányi, op. cit., 48, 132; see Chapter I.

86. Although he was one of the most important Archbishops of Eger, there has been no major biography of Bartakovics. The most substantial treatments are the article by János Perger, "Kis-Apponyi Bartakovics Béla egri érsek," in Emlékkönyv kis-apponyi Bartakovics Béla egri érsek arany-misejének ünnepére (Eger: Erseki lyceumi kny., 1865), and Lajos Haynald, Emlék-beszéd, melyet Kis-Apponyi Bartakovics Béla nagyméltóságú és főtisztelendő egri érseknek gyász-ünnepelye alkalmával mondott... (Eger: Lyceumi nyomda, 1873), 30 p. The eulogy reveals no especially close relationship between the speaker and the deceased. Bartakovics sponsored the translation of many important Catholic works, including Bishop Ketteler's Die Arbeiterfrage und das Christentum (Mainz: F. Kirchheim, 1864)-- Adriányi, Ungarn und das I. Vatikanum (Köln: Böhlau, 1975), 83.

87. Perger, 33.

opening of the Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet in Kolozsvár.

Like Scitovszky, Bartakovics was ex officio prefect of the county where he resided.

Danielik was even more active, and more disturbing to  
<sup>89</sup>the Nuncio. He was a canon in Eger since 1849, and for many years a close friend of Zsigmond Kemény, editor of the Deák-affiliated, moderate newspaper Pesti Napló. Between 1848 and 1855 Danielik edited the moderate but increasingly  
<sup>90</sup>political Catholic paper, Religió. In 1857 he also joined the editorial board of the Pesti Napló. As Vice-President of the Szent István Társulat since 1854 and through his connections in the church he was able to rapidly increase the number of Catholic, aristocratic and clerical subscribers to the Pesti Napló. The President of the society became a leading financial supporter of the Pesti  
<sup>91</sup>Napló. The paper strongly opposed the Concordat, and

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 88. Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 126.

89. The most complete biography of Danielik is by József Szvorényi, Emlékezés Danielik tiszteleti tagról (Budapest: Franklin, 1891), 35 p. On his political career, see László Csorba, "Újabb adatok a kiegyezés előkészítésének történetéhez," A magyar polgári átalakulás kérdései (Budapest: Az ELTE Bölcsészettudományi kara, 1984), 423-45 and ibid., "Nemzetélet és hitélet közös választútján," Tanulmányok a polgárosodás jellegéről az önkényuralom korában (forthcoming).

90. "A katolikus hirlapirodalom," in János Kiss and János Sziklay, A katolikus Magyarország (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1902), I, 534-9.

91. Geza Buzinkay, "A birodalomhű demokrata forradalmiságtól a nemzeti ellenállás fórumáig: a Pesti Napló," in A magyar sajtó története II 1848-1867 I (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985), 373-76. Szvorényi notes this society was the only Hungarian one (aside from the Academy) which continued to operate throughout the 1850s; Deák, Eötvös and others regularly participated in its assemblies. A study of the society also emphasizes its special political role in this

Danielik himself organized secret assemblies of the Concordat's clerical opponents in his Pest apartment. Among those in attendance were three bishops.<sup>92</sup> The Nuncio claimed that Danielik was in contact with the emigration, and that he used the society and Religio to support the political opposition.<sup>93</sup> In a polemic with the Reformed journalist Móric Ballagi, Danielik insisted that Catholicism<sup>94</sup> was no less favorable to liberty than Protestantism.

The celebration of St. Stephen's Day (August 20) in 1860 provided an opportunity for a national religious demonstration reminiscent in some ways of the Mariazell expedition three years earlier, but more overtly political. The holiday had been celebrated in Vienna from the fifteenth century until 1849, but had then been banned. For Hungarians their first king symbolized not only the establishment of Catholicism in the kingdom, but the unity of the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. The press prepared the celebration with pamphlets and articles emphasizing the saint's national significance. Scitovszky led the public procession through Pest streets bedecked with national flags. In a speech, he declared that "King Stephen's 800-year-old land may be shaken temporarily, but not destroyed..." The celebration concluded with a banquet attended by the leading aristocrats and featuring a speech

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 period: "A Szent István Társulat," in op.cit.

92. Révész, 145-6.

93. Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 127.

94. Pesti Napló, September 1 and 7, 1860.

by Count Gyula Andrássy. The church continued to organize such celebrations in succeeding years, both in Hungary and, from 1861, in Vienna as well.<sup>95</sup>

Scitovszky, Bartakovics and Danielik were the most prominent Catholic clergymen participating in the protests against the Protestant Patent in 1859-60. The court did not nominate the Primate as one of the Hungarian members of the Expanded Reichsrat of 1860, although it nominated Rauscher, Saguna and the Croatian Bishop Strossmayer. Scitovszky, other prelates and the clergy welcomed the October Patent in both speeches and pastoral letters. The emperor recognized the Primate's symbolic leadership of the Hungarian struggle for constitutional restoration. When he summoned him to Vienna at the time of the Diploma's promulgation, he greeted him with the words: "You are the winner." ("Ön a győztes.")<sup>96</sup>

The Emperor well knew that Szecsen's negotiating skill was more important than the symbolic leadership of Scitovszky for the granting of the Diploma. The Primate was less concerned than Szécsen with constitutional principles, but strongly concerned about the revolutionary threat to the political order and to the prestige of the church. By his public pronouncements he sought to increase the authority of the church, not only to further religious goals but also to

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95. Gyula Gábor, A Szent-István-napi ünnep története (Budapest: Franklin-Társulat, [1927]), 27-36.

96. Barițiu, Párți alese, III, 39.

outflank and disarm the radicals.

The foundation of the first Hungarian Catholic political daily newspaper at this time revealed the conservative strategy of the episcopate more clearly. Idők Tanúja began to appear in January, 1860. It proclaimed as its principles: God and country, religion and liberty. Prominent among its constitutional principles was the insistence on

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the union of Hungary and Transylvania. Pesti Napló attacked the new paper as an attempt to divide the nation. The President of the Szent István Társulat forbade the greeting to the new paper planned by the Tarsulat's weekly, Religió; as a result the editor of Religió resigned.

The new paper secured 1160 subscribers already at its inception, a high number but one-third that of Pesti Napló; more than half of these were clergymen. The editorial policy of Idők Tanúja was cautiously patriotic but conservative.

Bishops wrote many of the articles, and recommended the

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paper to their clergy and believers. After the Vatican provided aid for the victims of a flood in Hungary in 1862,

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97. The Nuncio presented this view of Scitovszky's strategy in his letter to the Vatican of May and December, 1860. Vatican State Secretary Cardinal Antonelli considered Scitovszky's policy prudent, and rejected the Nuncio-urging that he be reprimanded. Lukács, A Vatikán és Magyarország, 129-30, 134-5.

98. János Sziklay, Negyven év a katolicizmus történetéből. A "Magyar Állam" negyvenéves jubileuma. 1859-1899 (Budapest: Nyomtatott a Hunyadi Mátyás-intézetben, 1899), 4-9, 13, 22. Magyar Állam was the paper's successor.

99. Buzinkay, "A katolikus restauráció programjának megjelenése: az Idők Tanúja," in A magyar sajtó története II/1, 402-4. Haynald recommended the paper to his clergy and schoolteachers; Imecs, Erdély püspökmegye kronikája a XIX. században, IV, 197.



the paper organized the first Peter's Pence collection in Hungarian history, which sent 13,000 fl. to Rome for the support of the Holy See.<sup>100</sup>

Rumors circulated that Idók Tanúja received substantial subsidies from Michael Haas, the Bishop of Szatmár.<sup>101</sup> Haas shared Rauscher's dislike of the patriotic wing of the Hungarian episcopate. At the beginning of 1860 he alleged that Danielik twice obstructed a motion of the Szent István Társulat to express support for the Papal States. One letter to Rauscher cited several examples of purported agitation against pro-Austrian clergymen; Haas wrote that "they intend to intimidate all people loyal to the government, and spread discontent even by means of the church and school."<sup>102</sup> Haas also communicated his pro-Austrian views to Archbishop Kunszt.<sup>103</sup>

The revival of political life after 1859 also stimulated a renewed interest in Catholic Autonomy. The episcopate petitioned the authorities in 1850 and 1860 for the administration of Catholic foundations by a mixed commission. The Emperor actually promised the future fulfillment

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100. Sziklay, 23-5.

101. Ibid., 402.

102. Haas to Rauscher, January 17, 1860, in Vienna, Erzdiözesanarchiv. Bischofsakten Rauscher 1860. Despite his sharp tone, Haas was optimistic: "Die Opposition wird sich legen, sobald man aufhören wird auf Napoleon zu hoffen." To a degree he was correct. Haas' relationship with Danielik grew warmer in later years.

103. Haas' many personal letters to Kunszt, and those of the even more conservative Archbishop Haulik of Zagreb, are in Kalocsa. Főegyházmegyei Levéltár, Personalia. Kunszt József érsek privat-levelei.

of this request in April, 1860 but then took no further action. The public was barely aware of these unsuccessful efforts. In 1861 several county assemblies revived the call for Autonomy and the idea that it would increase popular concern for the welfare of the church. One assembly appealed to Bartakovics to support Autonomy, while others  
104  
called for its legislative enactment by the diet.

The easing of censorship made possible a lively debate in the press about Catholic Autonomy. The editor of Idők Tanúja, Antal Lónkay, came out in favor of lay participation in church economic administration in December, 1861, as an  
105  
antidote to religious indifference. The most radical contribution to the debate was an anonymous pamphlet by a German of Hungary, Kirchliche Zeitfragen, in 1863. The author, possibly a minor clergyman, railed against the arbitrary power and inordinately high income of the bishops and many pastors, and demanded they be chosen by election and given a uniform income, and lay economic administration introduced. An anonymous rebuttal accepted the author's call for the holding of synods and election of bishops, but deplored his hostility to the higher clergy and impractical  
106  
call for economic levelling. Vilmos Fraknói, who had

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104. Kálmán Török, "A kath. autonómia mozgalmak története 1848-tól napjainkig," Katholikus Szemle 7 (1893), 364-5; Jenő Török, 50.

105. Sziklay, 19.

106. "Egyházi kérdések" ("Kirchliche Zeitfragen") című röpirat. Taglalva egy kath. lelkész által (Pest: Emich Gusztáv, 1863), 137 p. I could not locate a copy of the German pamphlet.

earlier attacked the February Patent in Idők Tanúja, denounced the ideas of "democratia" and social equality as "evil spirits of the age." Catholicism's problems were the result of the struggle of good and evil, and the answer was a more effective Catholic press. Lónkay also modified his view in a conservative direction. Parish elections might be beneficial, he wrote in September, 1863. But the spirit of the age was the real source of the decline in religious faith, and the political rivalries characteristic of many Protestant congregations should be avoided. Yet for all his ecclesiastic conservatism, Lónkay was imprisoned for two weeks after attacking the decision of the Transylvanian  
107  
deputies to enter the Reichsrat in 1863.

Under the Provisorium some Hungarian bishops continued the strategy of the previous decade of using their independent position to mediate between the contending parties, moderate their conflict, and strengthen the position of the church. Two different applications of this strategy were the comportment of József Kunszt and János Danielik.

In 1861 Danielik was appointed a councillor on the Hungarian Locumtenential Council with responsibility for  
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church affairs, a post which he held until 1864. His  
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leadership of the Szent István and Szent László

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107. Sziklay, 15, 27-9; [Fraknói and Kálmán Rostaházy], Szózat, hazánk katolikusaihoz, különösen katolikus klérusához (Pest: Pfeifer Nándor, 1863, 48 p. The attribution of authorship is from Ferenc Rottler, ed., Egyház, műveltség, történetírás (Budapest: Gondolat, 1981), 346.

108. Szvorennyi, 14-16, 20.

109. See Chapter IX.

societies made him one of the most prominent members of the patriotic wing of the Hungarian clergy. In the early months of 1862 he prepared the first detailed compromise plan of the Provisorium. Accepting the validity of both the Diploma and the Patent, he proposed a one-time constituent "Reichsrat ad hoc" of all the peoples of the empire. Its members would be partly elected by the provincial diets and partly appointed by the emperor, and its task would be to resolve the most pressing financial problems and establish a budgetary procedure for the future which local diets would then approve. The politicians he submitted it to in April did not see how it would be possible to replace the  
110  
Reichsrat already in existence.

Archbishop Kunszt, the second-ranking prelate in the Hungarian hierarchy, submitted a less detailed compromise plan when Governor Pálffy requested his political views. Kunszt blamed the recent failures of the government in Hungary in 1861 on the system of county government, which left the path open to demagogy and class privilege. Like Danielik, he did not insist on Hungary's constitutional independence, but proposed a modification of the Patent according to guidelines to be voted by a special conference

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110. "Politikai programterv," Eger. Főegyházmegyei könyvtar, Ms. 2046/17. A German draft accompanying the project submits it for the "hohe Meinung auf geeignetem Wege" of an unidentified "Excellenz," possibly in Vienna. Danielik expected that a Hungarian government would be formed, but recognized the prerogatives of the Minister of State with respect to the Reichsrat. He proposed that the Transylvanian question be reserved for solution by a future diet.

of notables in Hungary. The conference would propose those modifications of the laws of 1848 dictated by the financial and military interests of the empire. He was pessimistic about the prospects of willing Hungarian participation in the Reichsrat, but expressed confidence that the loyalty of the empire's peoples would facilitate a solution, "no in equality, but in unity, not in unanimity, but in<sup>112</sup> harmony." There was no recorded follow-up to the plan,

perhaps because the Old Conservatives were no longer willing to expose themselves to public outrage. Pálffy rejoiced at having found one who shared his views, and on the eve of the provincial synod in Kalocsa in 1863 appealed to him to assure the moderation of the participating bishops in the interest of "the great issue of the compromise."<sup>113</sup>

Cardinal Rauscher welcomed the February Patent as a measure in defense of central authority and German culture. Speaking in March, 1863 about the imperial unity which he believed the 1856 bishops' conference had symbolized within the church, he expressed the hope that this assembly "would<sup>114</sup> soon find its counterpart in the political realm. In his attitude toward liberalism and constitutionalism, however,

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111. Copy of Kunszt to Pálffy, January 9, 1862, in Kalocsa. Főegyházmegyei levéltár. Personalia. Kunszt József érsek privat-levelei.

112. Copy of Kunszt to Pálffy, January 31, in loc. cit. The letter indicates they had recently held an oral consultation at an unspecified location.

113. Pálffy to Kunszt, March 9, 1862 ("Ich bin glücklich, in Euer Excellenz einen politischen Gesinnungsgenossen gefunden zu haben...") and September 1, 1863 ("a kiegyenlítődes nagy kérdése"), in loc. cit.

114. Wolfsgruber, 168.

Rauscher shared some of Rechberg's misgivings about  
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Schmerling's policy.

Schmerling and the Emperor were unwilling to abandon the Concordat, but showed some willingness to modify it in detail. A Protestant section in the Ministry of Culture was established for the first time in April, 1860, headed by the Saxon Joseph Andreas Zimmermann. The granting of an autonomous statute to the Austrian Protestants in April, 1861 violated, in the view of the Holy See, the special position  
116  
of the church. Schmerling formally accepted the Reichsrat liberals' demand for renegotiation of the Concordat in June, 1862, sending Bishop Joseph Fessler to the Vatican for this purpose in May, 1863. His negotiations  
117  
lasted nearly a year, but bore little fruit. The mild Josephinism of Schmerling's ideologist, Hans von Perthaler, sought to weaken the political power of the church but at the same time increase its administrative and spiritual autonomy in the interest of the freer development of society as a whole. Perthaler was confident that in freely organized

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115. Ibid., 495-98.

116. Correspondence of Pius IX and Franz Joseph, in Friedrich Engel-Janosi, ed., Die politische Korrespondenz der Päpste mit den österreichischen Kaisern, 1804-1918, 258-9. The simultaneous statute of the Saxon Lutherans was very similar, and Zimmermann played an active role in both; see Deutsch, Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Siebenbürgen, II, 382-5.

117. Wolfsgruber, Kirchengeschichte Österreich-Ungarns (Wien: Heinrich Kirsch, 1909), 87. Fessler was commissioned by Rauscher to defend the Catholic position versus the liberals in the pamphlets Die Revision des Konkordats, Die Protestantenfrage in Österreich, and Zur Orientierung über die gemischten Ehen in Österreich.

church assemblies neither "the abstract Romish spirit of a few fanatical and pietistic bishops" and "the servile deference of others toward a brutal...government... [will prevail]... The deeper religion enters the soul, i.e. ceases to be [mere] tradition, and becomes a true inner necessity of life and experience, the stronger will be its special character, opposing the antinational tendency.<sup>118</sup> Increasing nationalism in the churches, of course, had mixed blessings for the Austrian state. This opening to liberal Catholicism on the theoretical level could justify the court's generosity toward the non-Catholic churches yet occasional reliance on the Catholic episcopate's conservative instincts. Neither episcopate nor liberals found the compromise satisfactory.<sup>119</sup>

Serving in the Locumtenential Council, Danielik was alert to the beginning of Schmerling's decline and the rise of the Esterházy "camarilla" in 1864. In June, 1864 he discussed the possibility of compromise negotiations with his friend Baron Antal Augusz, a former associate of Archduke Albrecht.<sup>120</sup> Danielik visited numerous Vienna officials in November, proposed Augusz as negotiating partner, and advised his friend that winning over "an

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 118. Boyer, 21; Johann von von Perthaler, Auserlesene Schriften, ed. Ambros Mayr (Wien: W. Braumüller, 1883), II, 204-12.

119. On the conflict between the Austrian episcopate and the Reichsrat liberals under Schmerling, see Wolfsgruber, Kirchengeschichte, 86-88.

120. The discussion of the Danielik-Augusz negotiations is from Csorba, 423-45, based on their letters preserved in Eger and Szekszárd.

archduke" would improve their chances. As the result of Augusz' meeting with Albrecht, the fateful Augusz-Deák negotiations began in Pest on December 27, 1864. Thereafter Danielik's role was reduced to relaying information from Deák to Augusz while the latter was in Vienna. Danielik's role in the initiation of the compromise crowned the series of mediating efforts by Hungarian prelates. It is unimportant whether he took the first steps "alone." His countless connections with the Deák party and the Hungarian hierarchy made him an ideal intermediary on the Hungarian side, just like the church whose conservatism and dynastic loyalty consistently favored the middle way.<sup>121</sup>

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The years of constitutional conflict in Hungary coincided with the decisive confrontation between ultramontaniam and liberalism within the international Catholic Church. Pope Pius IX (1846-78) became increasingly conservative with the passing of the years as a consequence of his suffering at the hands of Italian liberal nationalism. His view of liberalism and nationalism as the twin errors of the age achieved classic formulation in the Syllabus of Errors, under consideration from 1860 on and finally published in 1864. Ultramontaniam represented not only political conservatism, however, but also a revival of

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121. Due to financial embarrassments and health reasons Danielik withdrew from public life before the Compromise could be enacted, and devoted his remaining years to scholarship.



traditional Catholic piety. The Austrian state found it convenient to ally itself with the ultramontane movement through the Concordat of 1855. The church gained a repeal of many of the restrictions it had suffered since the eighteenth century, while the empire sought a Catholic Church that was an active agent of imperial unity.

The Holy See moved tentatively toward a Concordat with Austria's Greek Catholics, as well. Various Orthodox bishops had agreed to unions with Rome in the seventeenth century in order to secure the social advancement of their clergy. Rome and the empire were willing to facilitate this advancement for the sake of the universal church. However, the defense of the eastern rite brought Greek Catholics, especially Romanians, into conflict with the Holy See over questions of church discipline.

The Hungarian lands were a major arena of the contest between ultramontaniam and liberal nationalism. Nationalism found expression in the episcopate's defense of the rights of the Primate vis a vis the Archbishop of Vienna and the resistance to Austrian absolutism in general as well as the political engagement of the Romanian bishops. Liberals saw the establishment of lay participation in administration in the so-called Catholic Autonomy as a response to the liberal spirit of the age and its perceived religious malaise. However, the dominant attitude of the Catholic episcopate was moderation and a quest for compromise rather than liberal reform.